

*The*  
AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL  
REVIEW

A Quarterly

*Vol. LXVII, No. 2*

*January, 1962*

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*The*  
AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL  
REVIEW

*Vol. LXVII, No. 2*

*January, 1962*

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American Foreign Policy and the  
Blessings of Liberty

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS\*

AS historians debate about the philosophy of history, and philosophers reason about the meaning of history, and even the meaning of meaning, cannot most of us agree that history, among its other great attributes, has a certain usefulness? A principal service of history is that, by extending our experience, individually and universally, back beyond the touch of our own lifetime, it fortifies our judgment in dealing with problems of the present and measuring our hopes for the future—I will not say in shaping the future. Of course our historical experience must be validated by critical scholarship. The experience must also be appraised and reappraised in relation to the ever-changing present as we move along toward the future. Like all social processes, the evolution and practice of foreign policy takes place in space and

\* Mr. Bemis, Sterling Professor Emeritus of Diplomatic History and Inter-American Relations at Yale University, gave this presidential address at the American Historical Association annual dinner, Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C., December 29, 1961.

time. In the case of the United States it would seem to be in widening space and shortening time. It takes place in space and time, but it must also be measured in terms of human values.

Can the diplomatic history of the United States strengthen our judgment in facing the problems of today which include nothing less than the survival of our nation and the principles we have stood for in the world? Only if we relate our historical experience to the successive stages of world politics and power in which American diplomacy has operated for better or worse for nearly two centuries. And only if we measure the history of American foreign policy in terms of the fundamental purposes and values of our life as a nation and our determination as a people to preserve them.

We have been hearing much these days about the necessity of a national purpose and the formulation of national goals for the good life. As if the national purpose had not long since been stated in the principles of our Declaration of Independence—"life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and in the preamble to our Constitution: "to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity. . . ."

This basic statement describes the original *raison d'être* of our nation. "In every period," to quote Leonard Krieger on Karl Marx, "the kind of activity with which men are most concerned—which they consider the most important—gives tone and color to the rest. . . ."<sup>1</sup> It was liberty which set the tone and gave color to the activities of our countrymen at the beginning of our nation. The Blessings of Liberty were the fundamental "rights of Englishmen" stemming from colonial charters and evolving through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by American constitutional custom which appropriated for itself the British parliamentary Bill of Rights of 1688. These freedoms of the individual are the values for which the United States has stood throughout its history in the shifting configurations of power and politics in the world of nations. They are the values which we invoke today, now, for all our citizens. They are also in varying degree the values of the remaining free peoples of the world. "With us, and throughout all history," wrote Albert Camus shortly before his death, "they deny servitude, falsehood and terror."<sup>2</sup> These values are our birthright of liberty, "laws, freedom, faith in God," as sounds the old hymn, "out of ages richly poured."

We have not lacked a clear purpose as a nation. What we seem to have been lacking is a continued consciousness of that purpose, of these congenital Bless-

<sup>1</sup> Leonard Krieger, "The Use of Marx for History," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXV (Sept. 1960), 360.

<sup>2</sup> Albert Camus, *The Rebel* (New York, 1959), 283.



ings of Liberty. What we seem to have been losing is the hardened will to make them prevail at all costs in the historically shifted strategy of American defense and diplomacy. As far as goals for the good life are envisioned, they depend on the survival of liberty.

As through the long ages of geology, movements of the earth's land masses have wrought compelling changes in the number and configuration of the continents, in their identity, in their climate, and in the creatures living on them, so throughout the history of international relations, changes in the balance of power have affected the configuration, number, identity, and policy of nations and their peoples in the shorter period of human history. Governments have had to adapt themselves to such geopolitical alterations or sink amid the strife of nations. These shifts, sometimes gradual, sometimes sudden and revolutionary as in the history of geology, have hitherto served the diplomatic historian as landmarks, helping him, as the strata of the earth's crust assist the geologist, to tell where we as a nation came from, where we have been, where we are now, and perhaps, but only perhaps, the direction in which we may be moving from here.

May I suggest that in the history of American foreign policy there are five major stages or shifts presenting themselves slowly, or suddenly, that can engage our attention here: the three long centuries that produced the European state system before the American Revolution; the quick era of revolution and emancipation, 1776-1823; the century after 1815 of isolation and security; the new picture of power and politics that appeared at the end of the nineteenth century as a prelude to the world wars of the twentieth century; and the present cold war at the beginning of our swiftly moving atomic age.

The first great geopolitical shift with which the historian of American foreign policy need concern himself, but which merely requires mention here, was from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. It led to the discovery and colonization of the New World coincidentally with the appearance of the national states of Portugal, Spain, Holland, France, and England on the Atlantic fringe of the new European system. We may bracket with the years 1492-1776 the age of European dynastic and colonial wars, toward the end of which emerged the independence of the United States in revolt against British sovereignty with the aid of the French alliance.

Our national independence introduced a second major alteration in the configuration of power. The era of emancipation embraced three violent political revolutions in the Western world and their sequela of wars: the North

American Revolution, the French Revolution, and the Latin American revolutions.

Thanks to the necessities of Great Britain and Spain in the wars of the French Revolution, President Washington, that wise, patriotic leader with far-seeing vision and sound judgment, slow thinking, perhaps, but by no means a "bewildered" or senile statesman as some would picture him, was able to preserve American neutrality and to liberate American territory in the Old Northwest from British occupation by his treaty of 1794 with Great Britain, and to open the Mississippi to the sea and free the Old Southwest from Spanish occupation by his treaty of 1795 with Spain. These were the first two treaties negotiated by the new national government—that was George Washington's constant word for it, "national."

There were other large windfalls for the United States coming out of the European cyclone. Thanks to immediate concerns in Europe during Jefferson's presidency, Napoleon Bonaparte had to abandon his plans for re-establishment of a French colonial empire in the Mississippi Valley. The resulting Louisiana Procurement—to use Edward Channing's fitting phrase—doubled the territory of the United States overnight within little more than a quarter century after the Declaration of Independence.

Napoleon's usurpation in Spain furnished the pretext for the Latin American revolutions. To preserve the neutrality of the United States in Spain's colonial war and in the vain hope of keeping the republic of the north from recognizing the independence of the new states of the south, Ferdinand VII's restored monarchy signed the so-called Transcontinental Treaty of 1819, placing Florida under the American flag and explicitly recognizing, for the first time by a foreign power, the sovereign position of the United States on the Pacific Coast. Soon thereafter, out of Anglo-American concerns over the possibility of European intervention in Latin America, came the independent pronouncement of President Monroe—behind the wooden wall of the British navy to be sure, but with what Dexter Perkins calls a "bold republican tone."

These great and happy successes did not come to pass within the neutrality desired by the fathers of American foreign policy. Neutrality in the general wars of Europe we have never been able perfectly to enjoy. Somehow when these wars extended to the oceans, they ceased to be "ordinary" wars confined strictly to their own continent such as George Washington envisioned in his Farewell Address. The neutrality of the United States broke down twice in the first half century of its independence, as it has collapsed twice again during the last half century.

Even during the two wars that signaled the first two collapses of

American neutrality, the United States did not seek to make an alliance with its enemy's enemy: with Great Britain against France during the "quasi war" of 1798-1800, or with Napoleon in the second war with Great Britain of 1812-1815. Experience of the fathers with the entanglements of the life-saving French alliance of the Revolution confirmed their aversion, and the distrust of their sons, to any more entangling alliances. This distrust dominated American foreign policy in the next hundred years of world politics.

On the whole the newly established policy had responded tolerably well, under the leadership of natural statesmen, to the international politics of the era of emancipation.

The peace settlements at Ghent and at Vienna presaged another shift in our geopolitical center of gravity: across the continent, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi Valley and on to the Pacific Ocean. During the century of isolation that followed, the security of an expanding nation was maintained with the smallest of standing armies, little more than a force for pacification and domination of the Indian tribes, and with a correspondingly small navy, armed forces less than those of even the smallest European powers. Of course, I do not speak of the improvisations of armies and navies during the war with Mexico or during the sectional War for Southern Independence, forces promptly demobilized after the conflicts were over.

Granted the preservation of the Union, the greatest achievement of American nationality during the nineteenth century was expansion of the nation across the empty continent to the shore of the "other ocean." It established the territorial basis of the United States as a world power and a bastion of freedom today. Thanks to the European wars and their aftermath in the Old World and the New, and the continued collisions of European friendships and enmities, the United States was able to redouble its national territory within scarcely a half century after the treaties of Ghent and Vienna. This continental consummation occurred during a period of what Professor C. Vann Woodward so nicely calls "free security." It was during the long period of comparative peace on the great oceans that the high objectives of American foreign policy were carried forward and largely achieved.

One international war did feature the rounding out of the Transcontinental Republic, otherwise expansively perfected by peaceful diplomacy between 1783 and 1867. It would be generally agreed, I suppose, on both sides of the Rio Grande, that the War of 1846-1848 between the United States and Mexico—not the only war between two American countries fought during this period—might have been avoided if the two nations had been pledged to the

Mexican-American, inter-American, and United Nations peace machinery of the twentieth century. Historians and statesmen in the United States from John Quincy Adams, William Jay, and Abraham Lincoln to Woodrow Wilson, Justin Smith, and Eugene Barker have debated the justice of the war with Mexico, none with perfect objectivity. But I have not been able to find any American today who would wish to repudiate President Polk's foreign policy and the Civil War that followed by handing back to Mexico the territory purchased by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the succeeding Gadsden Purchase. What an excitement such a suggestion stirred up in 1917 when the Zimmerman telegram proposed officially that Germany, Japan, and Mexico unite to take back the "lost provinces"!

The reasons for the easy successes of the United States during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were: our "detached and distant position," to use the familiar words of Washington's Farewell Address; Europe's distresses America's advantage, certainly sensed by our early statesmen, more clearly realized by the historian today; and the position of Canada, at first in effect a hostage—if such were needed—for Anglo-American peace during the British century, in our later times a friendly accouplement of Anglo-American solidarity and alliance in the turbulent twentieth century. There were other, more irenic factors that benignly colored the geopolitical position of Canada. Cultural sympathies, demographical affinities, and economic relationships bonded the peoples of the United States and Canada increasingly to peace. And there was the ever-peaceful disposition of the Canadian people and their own unpreparedness for war. Certainly no war with the United States would ever have arisen from them, or from any significant segment of them.

So American foreign policy adapted itself with easy instinct to the immensely favorable configuration of world politics during the last three quarters of the nineteenth century. We were so safe and foolproof that we did not need much of a policy. Some wiseacres thought we did not even need diplomatic representation abroad. Oh, wondrous century, so fortuitously fortunate for our nation! Oh, happy, golden, bygone years of safety, in lucky innocence, apart from the world around us!

During the nineteenth century, that is, after 1815, the danger to our nation was from within. Is it not a demonstration of the foolproof position of the United States that we were able uniquely to indulge in a great civil war without any permanent lesion to our foreign policy? But does the diplomatic experience of that century fortify our judgment in dealing with the problems of this century and measuring our hopes for the future?

The happy age of isolation and continental contentment approached its end over the historical "watershed" of the 1890's. The fourth great geopolitical shift in the axis of American foreign policy and diplomacy was from east-west to north-south: to the isthmus of Central America and its outlying island citadels in both oceans.

An unprecedented phenomenon in world politics set the shift in motion toward the end of the century: the sudden appearance of three new world powers—Germany, the United States, and Japan. The advent of two of these powers, each with a first-class army and building toward a first-class navy, was of great portent for the third power, the United States, as well as for the British Empire at its apogee.

Neither Germany nor Japan had a friendly hostage, like Canada, for peaceful relations with the United States; on the contrary, the United States had presented Japan with a future hostage when it acquired Alaska in 1867 and with an immediate one when it took over the Philippine Islands in 1898. Japan could threaten Alaska and the Philippines; Germany conceivably could threaten our Atlantic coast and the Caribbean. Against these possibilities the United States depended on its new one-ocean navy to meet Germany in the Atlantic (in case of British neutrality), or Japan in the Pacific. An American canal under American control against all comers became more imperative than ever as a waterway through which to pass the navy from one ocean to the other as circumstances might require. No one at the turn of the century, not even Alfred Thayer Mahan, dreamed of a simultaneous two-ocean war.

One may feel that it was the isthmian question that animated the Expansionists of 1898. They found the popular hysteria over Cuba convenient to their "large policy" of securing control of the strategic radius of the future canal. Strategic designs, public opinion, and the pressure of party politics combined to push the reluctant President McKinley into the Cuban-Spanish-American War which resulted in the liberation of Cuba and the ejection of Spain from the New World. It also led to the utterly unanticipated acquisition of the Philippine Islands and all the then uncharted complications for the United States that followed in the Far East. In various essays published during the first decade of the present century Captain Mahan laid down his famous dicta for the policy of the United States as a world power, which one is tempted to put into capsule form: in America, predominance; in Asia, cooperation; in Europe and Africa, abstention. So great was the weight of tradition that Mahan did not, nor did any other student of strategy that I know of, venture to combine these three separate concepts into a global strategy. So heavy were the precepts of an age of successful isolation that only a

handful of political thinkers on this side of the water, such as Mahan, Theodore Roosevelt, the young diplomat Lewis Einstein, and perhaps Colonel E. M. House, could take in the implications for the United States of an upset in the world balance of power from a German victory in any war with Great Britain. Even Theodore Roosevelt turned his attention altogether to domestic reform by 1912. In the presidential campaign of that year neither Roosevelt's New Nationalism nor Wilson's New Freedom said much about foreign policy or military preparedness. When war unexpectedly broke out in the Old World only two years later, it did not alarm our people very much at first; it seemed so remote, like a fiery collision between two distant stars of another system. Woodrow Wilson enjoined his countrymen to be neutral in thought as well as deed.

One thing might have been obvious as this war developed: if Germany won, the United States had much to lose from the altered balance of power, as weighed in terms of the future security of the Republic and the values it stood for in the world; if Great Britain and its allies won, there was nothing to fear, at least in the Atlantic world—this indeed was proven by the event.

One would like to believe that Wilson perceived this geopolitical problem clearly—as did Theodore Roosevelt begin to see it when in 1915 he turned again to foreign policy as a better issue in domestic politics than internal reform. One would like to conclude that Wilson weighed alternatives and determined to throw in the weight of the United States on the side of national security and basic Anglo-American freedoms. Instead, Wilson, with the support of a majority of his countrymen, clung during three years to the old formulas of previous decades. All within the realm of neutrality he adopted a choice of neutral policy which insisted on holding Germany to “strict accountability”—rather than later adjudication—for damage to neutral American lives and property caused by illegal attacks by German submarines on belligerent merchant ships, whether unarmed or armed, and finally on neutral American unarmed merchant ships. That choice is what eventually precipitated a combination of other well-known factors—economic, psychological, and political—into the third breakdown of American neutrality when Wilson proved unable to bring about a negotiated peace between the opposing belligerents.

German unrestricted submarine warfare finally torpedoed Wilson's policy of neutrality. The captured German archives have clarified the now waning controversy raised by the disillusioned revisionists of 1929–1938. The recent studies from those archives by Karl E. Birnbaum and by Ernest R. May have reinforced the conclusions presented by Charles Seymour a generation

ago based on the findings of the committee of the German *Reichstag* investigating the causes of the first war and the first defeat, which investigation used the same documents. In the last analysis international law, and the reaction of the United States, played no role in the decision of the German high command to resort to unrestricted submarine warfare against belligerent and neutral shipping alike; the only way—so they were fatally persuaded—to bring Britain to her knees within three months was to cut off her overseas carriage, no matter how.

For the United States the real and surpassing value of the victory over Germany in 1918 was temporary preservation of the Blessings of Liberty behind a safe balance of power in the Atlantic world, followed by a diplomatic adjustment with Japan that at least promised to preserve a balance in the Pacific.

After Versailles and after the Washington treaties of 1922, when the New World again seemed secure from danger overseas, east or west, the United States during the Republican Restoration reverted to the traditional Washingtonian, Adamsonian, and Monrovia foreign policy that had worked so successfully in a bygone geopolitical age. The thoughts and plans of our military strategists came to regard the intervention of 1917–1918 in Europe as an accident—this conclusion notwithstanding realization by the same thinkers that the balance of power and America's security had hinged on events across the Atlantic.<sup>3</sup>

Thus the United States, out of traditions going back to another age only temporarily interrupted by the First World War, of its own free will helped to jettison the victory of 1918. It demobilized its army; it limited its naval forces by treaty, and by example. This reversion to isolation was an instinctive adaptation to a deceptive picture of peace soon to disappear as foreign dictators rose to challenge the balance of power in a new and even more terrible war. Our teachers and our preachers, our statesmen and our legislators, even our military planners, and some of our own historians, had taken a mistaken measure of American foreign policy. The resulting neutrality legislation only served, so to speak, to keep us out of the First World War. American neutrality broke down again—the fourth breakdown in our history, within two or three years after the neutrality legislation of 1935–1937.

Scarcely had the Second World War been fought and won in a desperate trial of heroism and arms by the victorious Allies, when a new historical revisionism in the United States raised its head over the disaster of Pearl Harbor

<sup>3</sup> Fred Greene, "The Military View of American National Policy, 1904–1940," *American Historical Review*, LXVI (Jan. 1961), 354–77.



to gainsay the foreign policy of Franklin D. Roosevelt, even as revisionists in the previous generation had repudiated Wilson's policy.

Since 1945 historical writers have pursued the subject of the United States and the Second World War, pursued it not without polemics, oppugnation, prejudice, passion, and personal pain. In surveying these historiographical battles, we must remember that again, in 1939, there was much to lose, perhaps everything to lose, in case of a victory of the Axis Powers. It is difficult to see how there can be any doubt but that the United States and the whole Western Hemisphere would have been in great peril, whether immediate or proximate, had President Roosevelt stood by with arms folded around the new neutrality laws and permitted Hitler, Mussolini, and Japan to have overturned the balance of power by a defeat of Great Britain and the Commonwealth whether in the Atlantic or the Pacific, Southeast Asia, India, or Australia.

The new revisionists, notably Charles A. Beard, did not fail to point out that after waging the Second World War at a terrible cost we now face a greater danger than ever. Who would deny this fearsome fact? But the presence of new danger, as Professor Eugene C. Murdock has reminded us—along with the Germans<sup>4</sup>—is no argument against the liquidation of the old. Could we have lived on as a free nation preserving the Blessings of Liberty, with allies to join our effort, if Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan (not to mention Mussolini's Italy) had won the Second World War?

Our great miscalculation, if one may so presume to say, in the diplomacy of the Second World War came not from Roosevelt's courageous—however disingenuous to the voters—departure from neutrality to preserve the birth-right of our forefathers at the risk of a global war, but from his misjudgment of the nature and forces of Soviet policy, from his naïve assumption that he could cooperate with Russian revolutionary power once the Soviet Union no longer had need for such cooperation, once it stood victoriously on the World Island of Eurasia. The hunchful and hopeful President relied on the policy of Teheran and Cairo, already antiquated by the rush of events in Europe and Asia. After Yalta, traditional American foreign policy toward China collapsed on the continent of Asia. Where is the Open Door now?

Once again, after the complete defeat and surrender of the Axis Powers in 1945, the New World seemed safe, as it had seemed so safe after the First World War, and there was again a disposition to withdraw our forces from

<sup>4</sup> Eugene C. Murdock, "Zum Eintritt der Vereinigten Staaten in der Zweiten Weltkrieg," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, IV (Jan. 1956), 100.

Europe and Asia and this time to trust our destiny to a new league of nations. The United States pinned its hopes to the flag of the United Nations—to quote President Truman. This illusion of safety was short lived. To use the words of James B. Conant: “The coup d’état in Prague, the Berlin Blockade, the Korean War demonstrated the kind of world in which we lived, a divided world; and the division was broad and deep. The issue was freedom.”<sup>5</sup>

The Soviet Harvest—apt phrase of Langer and Gleason—at the end of the Second World War introduced the latest and most sudden new configuration of power. Accompanying this latest geopolitical shift, the most revolutionary change for the strategy of American defense and diplomacy, is the following complex of phenomena completely altering the position of the United States in the world:

(1) The scientific and technological revolution of our times which mushroomed into the atomic age at Alamogordo at 5:30 a.m. on July 16, 1945.

(2) Disintegration of the old empires of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—German, Japanese, Italian, British, French, Dutch, and Belgian—and replacement of their colonies by many new nations with Western ideas and desires but also weak enough to produce a widening vacuum of power.

(3) Substitution of a new Red imperialism controlling and oppressing adjacent satellites even more imperiously than the Western empires ever ruled their overseas colonies in Asia and Africa. It is a new and bitter system of colonization, now spreading to the Western Hemisphere in defiance of the Monroe Doctrine.

(4) The risen tide of color.

(5) Regrouping of the former world powers subsidiary to two opposing superpowers that face each other and each other’s allies on three fronts: at the hither rim of the two great oceans at each end of a new geopolitical axis bending over the North Pole.

(6) Potential military supremacy of Soviet Russia, allied with Communist China, on the World Island.

(7) The end of the freedom of the seas, and the threatened naval supremacy of Russia sallying forth from her land mass to the great oceans with a powerful fleet of submarines and all the implications of offshore nuclear bombardment of our cities on both coasts as well as destruction of surface vessels, whether obsolete navies or helpless merchant marine.

(8) A balance of terror in the air and in space beyond the atmosphere which still preserves a precarious balance between freedom and slavery in the world.

<sup>5</sup> *The Defense of Freedom* (Stamford, Conn., 1960).

Beyond these revolutionary factors in the shifting international configuration of our times is another even more dynamic factor of incalculable implications: the great population explosion of the pullulating peoples of this globe.

To meet the rapidly developing picture of the atomic age, the United States after the Second World War embarked on a diplomatic revolution. It repledged itself, within the newly chartered Organization of American States, against intervention by any one state, directly or indirectly, within the internal or external affairs of another American state, or by any group of states except in accordance with existing treaties, one of which was the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of 1947. At astronomical expense it lavished upon friend and foe, for their rehabilitation beyond the standards of 1939 and for their armament or rearmament, a sum of billions of dollars greater than the total ever extracted in all former wars from the vanquished by the victors—and the stream flows on and on toward over a hundred billion dollars. It developed disparate and subtly qualified regional, and bilateral, defensive alliances with at least forty-four nations within the United Nations, based on the putative historical lessons of past world wars.

History taught, so the argument ran, that if the Imperial German government had realized that the United States would become identified with Great Britain and her allies, there would have been no war in 1914; that if the United States had been a member of the first League of Nations there would not have been any Second World War. However all that may or may not have been, history also argued, so it was urged, that Hitler certainly would not have ventured war in 1939 if he had known that Germany would have to fight the United States and Great Britain firmly leagued with the Western nations in a revived system of collective security. Therefore Stalin and his successors—men did not yet think of Mao Tse-tung and his successors—would know better, from the lessons of the German and Japanese catastrophes, than to start a third world war.

This conclusion based on might-have-beens from the two world wars proves by no means to be a conclusive lesson of history. It is not at all certain that what might—or might not—have stayed Imperial Germany in 1914, or given pause to Hitler's Germany in 1939, will now stay Khrushchev and/or Red China from setting off another world war, or from winning the global fruits of victory undamaged by another war, simply by softening up the Western nations and peacefully overbuilding them in armed power until the victims, frightened and nerveless, accept the coils of tyranny in order to avoid a nuclear war.

How has our foreign policy and diplomacy adapted itself to this last and most momentous shift of all? It is too early to measure the success of our diplomacy in the cold war, much as one might be tempted to do so. Certainly there are steps that we would not take if we had the opportunity to do things over again. Certainly we have neglected to take some steps that manifestly we should have taken. But so far as one can gauge the present, it would seem that the American diplomatic revolution—most striking in all the history of diplomacy—was at least a nonpartisan response to the new requirements of the “prolonged and complex struggle” which President Eisenhower in his farewell telecast so soberly and poignantly bequeathed to his successor.

Whether our new alliances marshal united power at home and abroad and morale sufficient to stop the new aggressors is indeed a vital question. Whether by these commitments we have overextended our military power beyond the capacity of our allies and ourselves to deploy on exterior lines to all the danger spots is for our military authorities to answer. But would not history since ancient times lead its votaries to question whether money, however massively, helpfully, and generously bestowed, can be substituted for foresight, for work, pride, sacrifice, courage, or valor, either in the giver or the taker? And does not a policy of containment by its very nature yield the initiative to the revolutionary aggressor? Really it has not contained all around the World Island of Eurasia. Meanwhile, time has been on the side of the Communists. They have crushed Hungary, with impunity. They have pushed into Laos, despite SEATO. They have jumped the Near East over NATO and CENTO and reached into Africa to compound chaos in the Congo. They have leaped the Atlantic over OAS to establish another Communist front in Cuba, a fourth front for the United States to defend at our very doorstep. In Eastern Asia the Open Door has closed. In the Western Hemisphere, is the Monroe Doctrine dead, as Khrushchev said?

Surely the history of our foreign policy in relation to the successive postures of power in the world shows that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the United States profited adventitiously from the highly favorable circumstances of a secure and prosperous isolation. Surely this fortunate age cannot recur. America no longer enjoys a detached and distant position—on the contrary. Europe’s distresses and those of Asia and Africa are no longer America’s advantage; they are now America’s distresses, too. Canada no longer is the hostage but rather the indispensable linchpin of Anglo-American solidarity.

Nor do the great wars of the first half of the twentieth century afford a wholly reliable experience for the global compass of our foreign policy during

the second half of the century in which we are now so unpropitiously projected. "We fail to see the world in perspective," Dean Acheson has suggested, "because we regard it through eyes which we have inherited from our grandparents and great grandparents."<sup>6</sup> From our parents, too, he might have said, and from our own yesterdays.

For the world has changed much since Mr. Acheson wrote these words only a couple of years ago—witness Cuba. "The world into which we were born is gone," declared President Julius A. Stratton as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology reached its centenary last spring; "we have little or no idea of the world into which our children may grow to maturity. It is this rate of change, even more than change itself that is the dominant fact of our time." Things are changing so rapidly—just look at the moon!—that I have been worried lest they should change to stultify these remarks since they were submitted to the *American Historical Review*, in September, for publication in the January 1962 issue.

In this rapidly changing world does liberty, does freedom still set the tone and give color to our major activities, as it did in the days of our nation's founders when they bequeathed its blessings to us? Take the tone of the academic world. Have not our social studies been tending overmuch to self-study—to what is the matter with us rather than to perils and strengths that test our liberty? Too much self-study, too much self-criticism is weakening to a people as it is to an individual. There is such a thing as a national neurosis. A great people's culture, Alfred North Whitehead reminded us, begins to decay when it commences to examine itself.

A great and virile people, Theodore Roosevelt's characterization of the American people, can also waste itself away when it turns to massive self-indulgence. In self-study and self-indulgence we have been losing sight of our national purpose rather than failing to have one. During the letdown of the last fifteen years we have been experiencing the world crisis from soft seats of comfort, debauched by mass media of sight and sound, pandering for selfish profit to the lowest level of our easy appetites, fed full of toys and gewgaws, our military preparedness held back by insidious strikes for less work and more pay, our manpower softened in will and body in a climate of amusement. Massive self-indulgence and massive responsibility do not go together. A great nation cannot work less and get more, with fun for all, in today's stern posture of power.

How can our lazy social dalliance and crooning softness compete with the stern discipline and tyrannical compulsion of subject peoples that strengthen

<sup>6</sup> Dean Acheson, "The Premises of American Policy," *Orbis*, III (Fall 1959), 268.

the aggressive sinews of our malignant antagonist? Only if we can freely sacrifice for the Blessings of Liberty what they are forced to sacrifice for the compulsions of tyranny.

If the measurement of American foreign policy in space and time throughout our history offers little precedent for meeting the challenge of revolutionary changes in today's global picture, there is one thing sure in this crisis of our national life: the unchanging value of our inheritance of freedom, as we confront the dilemma of our times.

The dilemma of our times, in this latest and fateful *Gestalt* of world power, is whether to stand firmly in defense of the Blessings of Liberty at the risk of a third world war that may destroy civilization and with it all human freedom and dignity, or to accept Communist revolution and slavery that would also destroy those same precious freedoms and leave the world materially intact under new masters. We still pray that there may be a middle way for freedom. But in the face of the two extremes of this dilemma Bertrand Russell advocates, and too many with him on both sides of the Atlantic, even after the lessons of Hungary, Tibet, and Cuba, accepting Soviet mastery rather than standing fast for the Rights of Englishmen and the Rights of Man, that is, for the Blessings of Liberty. This is a counsel of defeatism for all we hold dear.

For if we stand, to quote a book review of September last year, "committed in every fiber of our being not merely to protect our nation but also to struggle for the cause of freedom on the world scene,"<sup>7</sup> we may win, and win without a final Armageddon of the globe. To quote an utterance of the same author four months later: "... proud of our ancient heritage—we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend or oppose any foe in order to assure the survival and success of liberty."

The historian of the future, if there is to be such, will have to decide, in taking the historical measure of American foreign policy, whether the people in this government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and also the peoples of other allied governments, had, as well as the power and unity, the social discipline, the spirit of sacrifice, the nerve and the courage to guard for themselves and their posterity the Blessings of Liberty.

<sup>7</sup> John F. Kennedy, in review of B. H. Liddell Hart's book, *Deterrent or Defense*, in *Saturday Review*, Sept. 3, 1960, 17-18.

# The Authenticity of the Themistocles Decree

MORTIMER CHAMBERS\*

RARELY does the historian of classical Greece acquire such a spectacular document as the stone inscription that Professor M. H. Jameson has recently discovered and edited.<sup>1</sup> It purports to record a united group of measures passed, on the motion of Themistocles, by the Athenian assembly in 480 B.C. This document will be widely discussed and if accepted will entail revising part of the history of the Persian Wars, especially concerning the campaign of 480. It therefore seems imperative to draw attention to historical problems arising from the new text and to lose no time in pointing out difficulties that warn against accepting everything in it as clearly authentic.<sup>2</sup> Interpretation and evaluation of this new document raise questions of historical method that are not limited to Greek history and epigraphy.

The document prescribes that Athenians and resident aliens, in repelling the Persian invasion, shall remove their women and children from Athens to the town of Troizen (where the inscription was found in 1959); elderly men shall withdraw to the island of Salamis. Minute instructions are then given about the manning of two hundred ships whose commanders must have certain qualifications and shall be chosen by lot. Half these ships shall proceed to the promontory of Artemisium on the island of Euboea to intercept the enemy (an indecisive naval battle was in fact fought here); the other one hundred shall lie in wait near Salamis "and the rest of Attica" to guard the home territory. The decree then records that men ostracized in earlier years shall go to Salamis and wait for public action on their cases. Here the text breaks off.

The problem of authenticity is raised immediately by the fact that the

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<sup>1</sup> M. H. Jameson, "A Decree of Themistokles from Troizen," *Hesperia*, XXIX (No. 2, 1960) 198-223; see also his article, "Waiting for the Barbarian," *Greece and Rome*, 2d ser., VIII (No. 1, 1961), 5-18.

<sup>2</sup> The decree is, at least, an ancient inscription. By "authentic" I mean "a substantially accurate copy of a decree actually passed in 480." I have not attempted to draw firm conclusions from the wording of the text, since we have too few documents from the early fifth century to be able to deny that a given phrase could have been used. Conversely, seemingly archaic locutions (for example, the cult name Zeus Pankrates, line thirty-nine, found especially in Aeschylus, who wrote in the earlier fifth century) could have been selected deliberately by the composer and do not prove authenticity. I must, however, record the impression that the rhetorical and patriotic language does not resemble that of a genuine public resolution.



recovered stone is not an inscription dating from the fifth century B.C. It was actually inscribed much more than a century after the alleged event. Jameson (page 209) dates the inscription in its present form between 329 and 322; even these years may prove to be too early after further study. Moreover, it can be established at once that the text is not an exact copy of a document from 480. The fact that the orthography has been assimilated to fourth-century practice is not important, but one should observe that the prescript introducing the motion is not in the style of the fifth century. The normal fifth-century form would be: "Resolved by the council and the people, such-and-such a tribe was on prytany,<sup>3</sup> so-and-so was secretary, so-and-so presided, so-and-so was archon [often omitted], so-and-so [one name only, without more specification—say, "Themistocles"] moved. . . ." The new decree has: "Resolved by the council and the people, Themistocles, son of Neocles, of the deme Phrearrhoi, moved. . . ." The addition of the patronymic and the name of Themistocles' deme, together with the omission of all other usual information, reveals that any putative fifth-century text has been altered according to fourth-century form, when the names of the mover's father and deme (and much other precise information) were recorded.<sup>4</sup> This strange form of prescript can be explained easily if the text is not authentic.<sup>5</sup> A composer of a decree in the fourth century could have known the names of Themistocles' father and deme, but, if he was working from no fifth-century original, he could not have added authentic names of a tribe on prytany, a secretary, and a presiding officer. And since the form of the decree is suspicious, there is reason to inquire whether historical facts allegedly preserved have also suffered revision.

If there were sharp contrasts between the decree and known or alleged facts in other sources, or instructions in the text that seem improbable on historical grounds, we should be justified in treating the new inscription with due caution. The well-known dispute about the authorship of the *Athenian Constitution* attributed (rightly, in my opinion) to Aristotle imposes another caution. It is nearly impossible to offer binding proof that a given document is or is not authentic when it is a couple of millenia old. Certain evidence has indeed been put forth as proving the authenticity of the text of our decree, but this evidence does not rule out all doubts. It is said that assigning each ship a captain, or trierarch, could only be characteristic of the fifth century, when trierarchs were active commanders. For, it is said, trierarchs in the fourth

<sup>3</sup> The *prytaneis* were a body of fifty citizens chosen from one of the ten tribes; each tribe's group of fifty men conducted public business for one-tenth of the year. A tribe whose representatives held this rotating office was the tribe on prytany duty.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of the usual form of a prescript, see Günther Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik* (Göttingen, 1957), 73.

<sup>5</sup> On the meaning of "authentic," see n. 2.

century had predominantly financial duties, and no "forger" of that later era would have supposed that two hundred triremes in 480 each needed a trierarch assigned to it in a forthcoming battle. But in fact trierarchs continued to command triremes at sea even in the fourth century,<sup>6</sup> and in any case a potential forger is likely to have read literature in which fighting trierarchs are mentioned. Again, it is maintained that the decree's use of the word *taxis* meaning "crew" (line thirty-one) is recognizably archaic, and Aeschylus (*Persians* 380) is cited as an author who used the word thus in the earlier fifth century. But the use of the word in our new decree does not prove that the text is archaic or authentic; the word means no more than "contingent," and it is insignificant that Aeschylus used it of crews.<sup>7</sup> It often means "contingent" in the fourth century, as the Greek-English *Lexicon* shows. Hence its meaning in the decree suits either the fourth century or the fifth century equally well and allows no inference about the authenticity of the text. Further, the number of marines (*epibatai*) assigned to each ship in the decree (line twenty-four) has been restored as twenty. This number cannot be derived from the report of the historian Herodotus about the Battle of Artemisium: he gives no statistics for the marines serving in the battle. And Plutarch (*Themistocles* 14) gives a figure of fourteen marines on the ships at the Battle of Salamis, later in 480; thus the composer of the decree cannot have derived his number of marines, twenty to a ship, from whatever source Plutarch followed. The number of marines to a ship was decreased to ten during the Peloponnesian War of 431–404, a fact showing that the composer could not have been guided by this number if he knew it.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly it has been inferred that the high number of twenty in the decree must be based on authentic data. But we have no statistics for the number of marines on triremes in the fourth century,<sup>9</sup> and we cannot exclude the possibility that twenty seemed a reasonable number to a fourth-century composer. Or he may have thought that the further back in time, the larger the number of marines on a ship.

Thus the authenticity of the decree is still subject to verification. And its having been inscribed in the fourth century reminds us of the known distortions of history sometimes committed then. Few would suggest that we should emend our textbooks in favor of the versions given by Isocrates when he

<sup>6</sup> The fact that trierarchs were active commanders in the fourth century can be confirmed from Demosthenes, 21.163–66 and 51.11, as well as from Pseudo-Demosthenes, 50.50.

<sup>7</sup> Aeschylus used *taxis* at *Prometheus Bound* 129 to refer to a "contingent" of sea nymphs.

<sup>8</sup> For the number of marines on Athenian triremes in the Peloponnesian War, see August Köster in Johannes Kromayer and Georg Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer* (Munich, 1928), 191.

<sup>9</sup> For the lack of evidence about the number of marines on triremes in the fourth century, see Köster, *ibid.*

speaks of various periods of Athenian history (in, for example, his *Panathenaicus*). Nor was he the only Athenian of his time capable of making historical errors. Thucydides (1.20.2) had already warned that Athenians accepted many tales without scrutiny. A new text from the late fourth century (or later, should that not be the right date) invites suspicion.

The major conflict between the burden of the decree and data previously available concerns the date when the evacuation of Attica in 480 was planned (and, perhaps, when it was executed). Herodotus (8.40–41) reports that the Athenians did evacuate their city as the Persian army and fleet advanced against Athens. By itself this fact is not in dispute, but the decree now edited implies circumstances for the evacuation that cannot easily be reconciled with Herodotus' narrative; any rewriting of history entailed by the new text will affect this series of events most of all. The new information must therefore be tested with care.

The decree, as summarized above, orders a fleet of two hundred triremes to be readied and half of it sent to the promontory of Artemisium to intercept the Persians; the Athenians are also to evacuate their women, children, and elders to Troizen and Salamis. The text does not make it clear whether the evacuation is to take place at once or only to be prepared and then carried out on further orders. Indeed the instruction (line twenty) to begin choosing trierarchs for the ships by lot "starting tomorrow" seems most odd since no reference point is given for identifying "tomorrow." But, since no delay is prescribed, it would appear that the composer of the decree meant to order an immediate evacuation. This interpretation seems confirmed by the instructions to man two hundred triremes, which would absorb forty thousand men (two hundred per ship: Herodotus 7.184.1, 8.17); this number of men probably exceeded Athenian manpower in 480 or would at least have required every man of military age of all property classes.<sup>10</sup> The city would have been left defenseless. Hence the text can be best understood to envisage immediate evacuation.

Now since the evacuation is ordered before (or when) the one hundred ships are to be sent to Artemisium (line forty-one), this flight from Attica is dated by the decree before the Battle of Artemisium was fought. Here we reach the crucial conflict with Herodotus. He relates (8.40–41) that evacuation of Attica was carried out *after* the fleet returned from Artemisium with the news that the battle there (and contemporaneously the heroic land resistance at Thermopylae) had failed to stop the Persians. Herodotus, then, does not

<sup>10</sup> The adult male citizen population of Attica in 480 is usually estimated at rather more than thirty thousand, the main evidence being Herodotus 5.97.2.

date the evacuation before Artemisium was fought, and only if he and his Athenian informants were completely misinformed about when Attica was abandoned can the decree, dating the flight before Artemisium, be accepted. Nor was Herodotus writing more than a century after the fact—it may be assumed that he composed his narrative between 445 and 430.<sup>11</sup> He gives no hint that evacuation had been suggested before Artemisium, much less voted in a formal resolution of the assembly. And he clearly conceived the evacuation as a last minute *sauve-qui-peut*, which interpretation would be banished if we were to accept a text portraying a deliberately planned withdrawal before Artemisium was fought.

Herodotus says one thing, the decree says another. It is for us to decide between them. Not only does the decree require us to assume that Herodotus was capable of misdating a massive evacuation of the largest city in Greece (as it were, of dating Dunkirk before the German *Blitzkrieg*); we must also believe that Athenians could be persuaded to abandon their city, homes, shops, and land before it was even seen whether the Persians could be stopped at Artemisium. In effect, the Athenians would have been admitting that Artemisium would be at best inconclusive (as in fact happened). Is this alleged vote for prior evacuation easy to accept? Removal of children from cities threatened by bombs is scarcely a justifying analogy for an Athenian resolution virtually writing off Artemisium some weeks (?) before this major battle was fought. Evacuation before the fact would, by itself, be rather unlikely. Set against the narrative of Herodotus, it verges on the incredible. There is no apparent reason why he should have got the wrong date for this withdrawal or why he should have been mistaken in ascertaining, in Athens, that evacuation was stimulated by failure to stop the Persians. Nor can we fall back on the argument that the decree gives only a blueprint for evacuation, to be executed when finally ordered. Herodotus (as the reader will confirm from 8.40–41) knew nothing of any such plan conceived before the battle, and if evacuation had in fact been planned before Artemisium, how did the version ever arise in which the Athenians proclaimed a *sauve-qui-peut*? And if we are to believe that the decree is only a plan for the future, we must also admit that it does not say what it means.

General improbability inheres in the alleged evacuation before Artemisium and Thermopylae; this improbability opens the subject of other unlikely prescriptions in the text. First, would Athenians in 480 have publicly debated and recorded a temporary military measure such as an order to send one hundred

<sup>11</sup> Felix Jacoby in August von Pauly and Georg Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, Supplementband 2 (Stuttgart, 1913), col. 247.

ships to Artemisium? Generals possessed power of command and needed no authorization from the assembly to send ships where they pleased, nor need such a decision have been recorded on stone (or papyrus).<sup>12</sup> Again, assuming that Athenians thought the matter called for a vote in the assembly, the fact that 100 was not the number of triremes sent to Artemisium (rather, there were 147, of which sailors from the town of Plataea manned 20: Herodotus 8.1) is to be noted, although it could be explained away. The decree's statistics, differing from Herodotus', were perhaps chosen arbitrarily for the sake of symmetry: half of two hundred are sent to each place.

And why should generals, in appointing trierarchs for the fleet, not do so directly, without recourse to the lot as commanded in the decree? There seems neither military reason nor any parallel for choosing ships' captains by lot. It would seem that this purported allotment is a retrojection of practices from the fourth century, when the lot was used to appoint all manner of Athenian magistrates (Aristotle, *Const. Ath.*, 47 ff.). By contrast, the directions for appointing "the petty officers" to the ships (lines twenty-six, thirty-four) are extremely brief.

So far I have suggested that evidence of various kinds cumulatively raises a suspicion that the text of the decree has been tampered with or may be wholly a product of a later time, but this suggestion would be gratuitous if no reason appeared to explain why anyone would wish to create such a document. The apparent reason for inscribing the text in the fourth century (or later) was to honor Athens for her generosity to certain refugees from Troizen (well argued by Jameson, 207–208). Any possible altering of the text that would compliment Athens thus finds a ready explanation, and sheer additions could likewise be accounted for. It may be that such later patriotism is responsible for lines forty to forty-seven, the crucial portion of the text. It is here that the chronological difficulty between the decree and Herodotus arises, as the decree orders half the fleet to Artemisium.

It has, however, been maintained that these lines, and their implied chronology for the evacuation, are guarantees of authenticity. If the text here is genuine, it refutes a claim made by Athenians and recorded by Herodotus (8.40) to the effect that they had expected the other Greeks to make a stand against the invading Persians even after the loss at Thermopylae-Artemisium.

<sup>12</sup> The two inscriptions concerning the expedition against Syracuse in 415 B.C. (M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, I [2d ed., Oxford, Eng., 1946], no. 77) are not necessarily parallel to our text. Athens by then recorded much more on stone, and the decrees are provisions for creating a fleet (not for manning one) and for choosing generals to lead it. Decrees were probably copied on stone from papyrus exemplars; the city of Athens and probably all papyrus records there were burned in the invasion of 480, but if Athenians had wanted to take a papyrus copy of a text to Salamis they could have done so.

It was, the Athenians alleged, only because of the failure of the allies to continue resistance that they were forced to evacuate Athens at the last minute. This version is repeated and expanded in later literature (references: Jameson, 204). The text of the decree disallows this claim, since it implies that flight from Athens was planned and executed before the battles. And, since presumably no patriotic forger would wish to contradict the Athenian version, that Athens had been deserted by her allies and forced to evacuate contrary to plan, the decree cannot be the product of any such forger and must therefore be a genuine historical document. Such is the argument. But is the text of lines forty to forty-seven in fact discreditable to the Athenians and a version that could not be a patriotic fiction? The evacuation has become no longer a flight, inspired by panic and carried out "however one could," as it is plausibly described by Herodotus (8.41). It is now portrayed as a strategic maneuver, planned long in advance by the far-seeing Themistocles and accepted in an enlightened democratic assembly. There is no suggestion of military cowardice; quite the contrary, one hundred ships are to lie in wait around Salamis and Attica for the final action. All is in readiness. Thus one version—that the Athenians were betrayed by their allies and barely scrambled out of Attica in time—is replaced by another which is far from embarrassing: they had planned it this way from the beginning.<sup>13</sup> Nor did Athenians, in later years, always prove their patriotism and bravery in 480 by pointing to this alleged "desertion" by their allies. They also took pride in having voluntarily decided to abandon Attica whereas no one else had the courage to do such a thing; this version is brought out in Thucydides (1.74.2) and in a speech attributed to Lysias (2.31-33). It would be in keeping with this tradition to have the decision taken early and deliberately, not in response to an unforeseen emergency at the last minute.

We may also approach possible reasons for falsification by considering other examples of patriotic forgeries. If there were none, the case against the Themistocles decree would be considerably weakened. It is well attested that the Persian Wars, a high point of Athenian valor, were an especially tempting subject about which to liberalize the truth. There is, for example, the anecdote in Aristotle's *Constitution* (23.1) to the effect that the council of the Areopagus provided money for sailors in the Athenian fleet just before the Battle of Salamis and thus contributed greatly to the victory. This story probably comes to Aristotle from one of his conservative sources, Androtion, who anachronistically—and with partisan motives—magnified the role of this

<sup>13</sup> The authenticity of the text is not supported by the "Wooden Walls" oracle apparently predicting a battle at Salamis in 480 (Herodotus 7.141). This oracle may be genuine, but it does not prescribe evacuation to make the decisive battle possible.



ancient and generally conservative body in Athenian history.<sup>14</sup> This anecdote could possibly be true, but there seem to be grounds for doubt. Another historian, Cleidemus (a fourth-century contemporary of Androtion), ascribed the same action to Themistocles (Frag. 21). If the truth about the matter had been known to all, or was readily ascertainable, probably these two opposed versions would not have existed side by side.

Editorial work of this kind was not confined to literary productions or narrative histories. Even documents supposedly dating from the era of the wars were not preserved as reliably as we should wish. Plutarch (*Moralia* 628 E) refers to a decree proposed by the statesman Miltiades in 490, urging that Athens should take aggressive action against the Persian invasion of that year. This decree was also in circulation during the fourth century, as the Themistocles decree was. Demosthenes (19.303) states that his rival Aeschines once read it to the assembly, and Aristotle (*Rhetoric* 1411 a 10) cites a phrase from it through quotation by another scholar. Now the curious fact is that Plutarch records that Miltiades' tribe, Aiantis, was on prytany duty when the decree was proposed; that is, the prescript in the text known to Plutarch contained the typical phrase, "such-and-such a tribe was on prytany" (Aiantis, in this case). But this information is rather puzzling, for we do not find the prytanizing tribe recorded on inscriptions until nearly 460 B.C.<sup>15</sup> It may of course be argued that Plutarch proves that the tribe was actually named in the prescript as early as 490, but it seems at least equally likely that the text known in the fourth century and later had been edited in this respect.

A document that may be dismissed as a later creation, yet still studied as a revealing document of the fourth century, is the alleged oath sworn before the Battle of Plataea, in 479 B.C., by Athenian soldiers.<sup>16</sup> The ancient credentials of this oath are like those of the Themistocles decree. Part of the oath was read publicly by the fourth-century orator Lycurgus (*Leocr.* 81), as the Themistocles decree was read by Aeschines (Demosthenes 19.303; Aeschines also read the Miltiades decree referred to above). A copy of the "Oath before Plataea" was inscribed at the Attic village of Acharnae; this is the inscription recovered in 1932 and edited by Professor Louis Robert. The fourth-century historian Theopompus (Frag. 153) denounced this "oath" as unhistorical.

<sup>14</sup> Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, suppl. (2 vols., Leiden, 1954), II, 91.

<sup>15</sup> The tribe on prytany duty is first recorded in a decree concerning the city of Phaselis (Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, I, no. 32); for the date see H. T. Wade-Gery, *Essays in Greek History* (Oxford, Eng., 1958), 183, n. 1.

<sup>16</sup> The inscription preserving the oath at Plataea is edited by Louis Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris, 1938), 307-16; for this text, see also Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, II (Oxford, Eng., 1948), no. 204, with corrections by Georges Daux, *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson* (2 vols., St. Louis, 1951-53), II, 775-82.



Perhaps his opinion does not suffice as proof, but a reading of the oath does. The style is inflated with religious phrases and vows, and the reference (line thirty-three) to Thebes as a Medizing city during the recent war will be recognized as an attempt to lend historical accuracy to this text. The inauthenticity of the "oath" is indeed generally conceded. Yet this unhistorical document was quoted in antiquity at about the same time as the Themistocles decree was.

And Plataea was the subject of another Persian War document referred to by Plutarch (*Aristides* 21); this is the so-called "Covenant of Plataea," a decree allegedly moved by Aristides in 479, after the Battle of Plataea, providing certain honors for the city and prescribing a force to be contributed by Greeks for a continued war against Persia. The case against the authenticity of this decree is best stated by the editors of the *Athenian Tribute Lists*, to whom I may refer.<sup>17</sup> These documents were composed in the fourth century for the general purpose of tidying up the past and sanctifying parts of it through creation of "contemporary" public resolutions. Whatever was editorially added in the Themistocles decree can be assigned the same motivation.

Anyone who casts doubt on the authenticity of parts (at least) of this decree should be willing to offer a tentative account of what may be accepted from the text. The word "forgery" should be used with great care; this is not an example like that of someone trying to write poems in the style of Milton. Some of the provisions recorded may be historically accurate with reference to the events of 480, but not actually copied from an original text of this document. For example, at the end of the text it is prescribed that those who were ostracized in earlier years shall go to Salamis and await a decision by the people about their fate. We know independently that certain ostracized citizens were in fact recalled under amnesty, probably early in 480, by way of rallying able men to the defense of Athens.<sup>18</sup> According to Plutarch (*Themistocles* 11) the decree recalling them was also moved by Themistocles.<sup>19</sup> No literary source mentions the order to observe a waiting period on Salamis. It is possible that the composer of the new Themistocles decree had available a text of the amnesty law of 480 and worked this provision for a waiting period into the text of the decree he was composing. No clear reason appears for inventing this provision, unless patriotism suggested that the people be made to seem admirably judicious in dealing with the previously ostracized. We might then

<sup>17</sup> B. D. Meritt *et al.*, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* (4 vols., Princeton, N. J., and Cambridge, Mass., 1939-53), III, 101-104.

<sup>18</sup> For the date and evidence concerning the return of the ostracized, see Georg Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte* (2d ed., 3 vols. in 4, Gotha, 1893-1904), II, 660.

<sup>19</sup> Both Plutarch and the new decree (line forty-five) denote the ostracized with a form of the verb *methistemi*, less common than *ostrakizo*.

accept this portion of the new decree without subscribing to the authenticity of the rest.

The first question might be whether any decree at all was voted and inscribed on stone or recorded on papyrus in 480 that made evacuation official policy. It is not easy to set limits a priori to possible occasions for inscribing decrees, yet it may be suggested that Athenians did not find it necessary to record every decision taken publicly by recording it on stone or in archives. A distinction should be drawn between standing orders and resolutions for particular occasions. Treaties, alliances, and similar items did require inscriptions to record for the public exactly what was provided. For example, there is good reason to think that Solon had his codification of Attic law displayed on public documents in the early part of the sixth century B.C. But it is doubtful that as early as 480 Athens (or any Greek community) inscribed decrees providing for action on a single occasion.

Was an inscribed decree required in 480 to enable the Athenians to evacuate their territory? Would people have bothered to make a text, whether verbatim or not, after evacuation was voted in the assembly? The utility of such an inscription would be rather limited: people would know that they were invited to flee Athens and would have needed to consult no inscription to find this out. The same objections apply to the minute prescriptions for manning the fleet. Nor is the decree attested in any source before the middle of the fourth century, when Aeschines read it in public (Demosthenes 19.303).<sup>20</sup> Jameson (pages 202 and 209–15) has collected references to and quotations from lines one to eighteen of the present text from Greek and Roman literature beginning with the fourth century, even before our copy was made at Troizen. It may be accidental that no reference to anything after the middle of line eighteen has yet been found, but it is at least striking that Plutarch, who can quote in his *Themistocles* (10) from the first lines, follows Herodotus in regarding the evacuation as a *sauve-qui-peut*. He did not know that it had been voted before Artemisium as part of a coherent plan. We may infer that his text (which might, indeed, be an excerpt) did not include the matter in lines forty to forty-seven, in which it is revealed that Artemisium had not yet been fought.

The issue is whether an admission of mild editing—mere revision of

<sup>20</sup> Herodotus (7.144.3) refers to a decision taken by the Athenians to resist the Persians, but it would be an overstatement to say that in this passage he is referring to, or giving an account of, the decree preserved in the new text. Likewise, Thucydides is not necessarily alluding to any specific decree when he says that the Athenians took to their ships and left Athens (1.18.2). This fact was universally known. These passages cannot be appealed to as proof that the new document was known in the fifth century; Demosthenes 19.303 remains the earliest reference to the decree.

phraseology in accordance with fourth-century practice—is the just verdict. The following hypothesis is not demonstrable but is tenable. Themistocles will have proposed evacuation to the assembly, and it was duly voted. A copy of this motion may have been inscribed after the return to Athens, possibly as a monument to the successful strategy. This document, written in appropriately ringing language, may have passed into popular tradition and could be what Aeschines read to the assembly in the next century. In any case, whether or not such a decree was inscribed, lines one to eighteen are unobjectionable as an approximation of what was voted in 480. Everything after that was added at an uncertain time before, or when, the decree was inscribed at Troizen. Some of the provisions added then may have resembled what was done in 480 or may have been worked into the text from other sources (for example, the ultimate provision about the ostracized), but the added portion should not be considered documentary. It conflicts unbelievably with Herodotus' report, surely recovered from people alive in 480, that Athens was evacuated only as a desperate measure after it was learned that resistance at Thermopylae and Artemisium had been unsuccessful. There are plausible motives for distortions, and we already know at least one or two alleged documents offering historical analogies and demonstrating that suspicions of inauthenticity are not capricious. We must conclude that the text following line eighteen does not permit deductions about constitutional practices of the fifth century nor about the chronology of the campaign of 480.

The burden of this examination of the new decree is not, as it might at first seem, wholly negative. The text remains a document that can be studied and exploited to instruct us about the mood of the fourth century. That Greeks of this period, or later, should have thought it worth while to inscribe the decree is significant. It is also interesting to learn that people of Troizen in the Peloponnesus wanted to compliment Athens by setting up this honorific inscription. The decree may be added to our body of evidence showing how Greeks often idealized and reconstructed their own past in the absence of trustworthy documents or sound historical tradition. To observe such a procedure at work should be important to historians both of antiquity and of modern times.

## Some Characteristics of Latin American Urban History

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THE important and integrative role that the study of urban development has played in the historical analysis of European institutions suggests a similar approach to the history of Latin America, an approach that has not received adequate consideration. We may assume that the quest for a theory of town origins will not dominate Latin American urban historiography as it has European, for in the New World it is relatively easy to determine when and why a given town was founded. Towns created formally and *ex nihilo* in a moment of time, such as Santo Domingo, Lima, or, to take a contemporary example, Brasília, are distinct from those which grew out of the soil, around garrisons, transportation break points, centers of production, and places of religious pilgrimage. In the Indian areas, one can classify towns or villages having a pre-Columbian origin and those formed by the resettlement of Indians by the Spaniards.

This essay is not an inquiry into origins, which would entail description and quantification, but it is rather a search for hypotheses toward a theory that will have special explanatory value for Latin America. This theory would be functional rather than genetic in its emphasis, clarifying the relation of the Latin American city to the settlement of the land and to the forms of economic production. The striking incongruity of the institutional history of Latin America is that the most important job of production has been that of extracting commodities from the soil and subsoil, though the persons who settled the area, as well as the immigrants of later centuries, crossed the ocean with the idea of the city in their minds. The number of European small farming communities transplanted to Latin America was almost negligible, nor was such transplantation crowned with success. By and large, the rural emigrant to the New World was sufficiently exposed to city life, at the two terminal points of the crossing if nowhere else, to change whatever peasant outlook he may have had. To find anything resembling peasant communities in Latin America one must look principally among the non-European groups: among

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the highland Indians in some regions, where lines of pre-Columbian tradition have been maintained, or among the descendants of African slaves in the Caribbean, whose forbears were happy to escape the conditions of plantation life.

Still another incongruity accompanied this development of a vast agricultural and mining economy by an urban-minded people. In 1500 the rulers of Renaissance Europe, prompted by their architects and city planners, were just approaching the idea of the city as a symbol of imperium, set apart from the countryside by its pageantry and geometric design, rather than being incorporated into it by natural arteries and exchange. Yet the old cities of Europe could be remodeled only slightly in this Renaissance image, and only rarely could new ones be built. Happily, or ironically, the city builders found free rein in the wilderness of the New World.

The picture should not be oversimplified. The late medieval towns of Western Europe, excepting perhaps those of the Moors in Spain, were not characterized by haphazard growth and jumbled street plans. Although the plans were often irregular, they might show

. . . a close relation in form between rural and urban settlements in the same countryside. This relation is due, not to the gradual topographic and functional transformation of a village, but rather to the adoption of the same principles of lay-out for the town as for the village, modified to suit the needs of an urban community.<sup>1</sup>

In many cases a geometric design was observable: either a radial concentric system centered on the town nucleus, frequently a fortification, or the rectangular or grid system similar to that of the Roman *civitates*. The grid plan, a natural form of linear and lateral growth for towns expanding along a single route axis, is seen particularly in towns founded north of the Alps in the later Middle Ages.

The point is not that geometric planning was unknown to the Middle Ages, but that the rationalistically conceived master plan, reflecting more of imperial or even an assumed universal order than of local need and function, was a Renaissance product. Not until after 1500 were European cities built, rebuilt, or extended in conformity with such master plans. By then the modern network of towns was almost wholly in existence in Western, Central, and Southern Europe. The Renaissance and later baroque planners were restricted to laying out a mere handful of new towns and to enlarging the capitals, the courts, and some of the seaports.

It would be another oversimplification to say that the conquistadors trav-

<sup>1</sup> Robert E. Dickinson, *The West European City: A Geographical Interpretation* (London, 1951), 272-73.

eled to the New World with town plans fresh from Italian drafting boards. Whether the Spanish American gridiron city represented spontaneous planning that comes naturally to city builders in any time and place; whether it was influenced by pre-existing Indian cities, particularly in Mexico and Peru; whether it stood directly in the tradition of the ancient Roman city; or whether it was indeed inspired by the revived classicism of the Italian Renaissance model is controversial.<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps there is foundation for all of these theories. During the early years of Spanish colonization the crown established no strict control over the form of new towns. The first plans seem to have flowed from medieval practice and to have showed, in Mexico at any rate, occasional Indian influences. Little is known about the towns founded on Hispaniola in the 1490's, except for Isabela, the ruins of which show no traces of rectangularity. The first checkerboard plan was probably given to Santo Domingo when Governor Nicolás de Ovando transferred it to the right bank of the Ozama River in 1502 and intervened personally to establish the plan and distribute the town lots. In 1526 the historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo compared the city favorably to Barcelona: "The streets are much more level and much broader and incomparably more straight; for as the town was founded in our time . . . it was laid out by rule and compass with the streets all of the same size, in which respect it is far ahead of all the towns I have seen."<sup>3</sup> The model for this layout was provided by the rectangular city plans used by the Catholic monarchs on recaptured land at the end of the Moorish campaign, most notably the one for Santa Fe, at the gates of Granada.

The first Spaniard to arrive in America with precise royal orders regarding the setting out of cities was Pedrarias Dávila in 1514. His instructions, applied to Panama City in 1519, read in part:

. . . let the city lots be regular from the start, so that once they are marked out the town will appear well ordered as to the place which is left for a plaza, the site for the church and the sequence of the streets; for in places newly established, proper order can be given from the start, and thus they remain ordered with no extra labor or cost; otherwise order will never be introduced.<sup>4</sup>

The inspiration for this directive may have been a memory of Roman practices kept alive through the later Middle Ages by the survival of such works

<sup>2</sup> Erwin Walter Palm, "Los orígenes del urbanismo imperial en América," in *Contribuciones a la historia municipal de América*, ed. Rafael Altamira y Crevea et al. (México, D.F., 1951), 246.

<sup>3</sup> Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Sumario de la natural historia de las Indias* (México, D.F., 1950), 88-89.

<sup>4</sup> "Ynstrucion para el Governador de Tierra Firme, la qual se le entregó 4 de Agosto DXIII" in *Orígenes de la dominación española en América*, ed. Manuel Serrano y Sanz (Madrid, 1918), I, cclxxxi.

as the *Rei Militaris Instituta* of Vegetius. Only later in the sixteenth century did the revival of Vitruvius and the work of the Italian Renaissance planners affect city building in the New World.

The conquest of Mexico was carried out "during a decade of humanist ascendancy in Spain."<sup>5</sup> A dialogue by Francisco Cervantes de Salazar printed in 1554 describes Mexico City a generation after its reconstruction by the Spaniards. He speaks of houses "built so regularly and evenly that none varies a finger's breadth from another." In a reference to humanist doctrines, one of the residents exclaims: "The columns are round and smooth, since Vitruvius did not recommend square columns and those that are grooved in the middle." Wide streets allowed the winds to blow off "pestilential vapors" from the nearby swamp. As for the plaza: "Look carefully, please, and note if you have ever seen another equal to it in size and grandeur." "Indeed, none that I remember," says the guest. "What order! What beauty! . . . Truly, if those colonnades that we are now facing were removed, it could hold an entire army."<sup>6</sup>

When this dialogue was written, Mexico City had already become the largest city in the Spanish world, and it was unique among great cities of its time "in that it was an unfortified metropolis, occupying a plan that shows close affinities to the ideal town plan of Italian architectural theory."<sup>7</sup> George Kubler reminds us, however, that many Mexican towns, whether founded under secular or missionary auspices, bore no traces of rational planning. The vast outskirts of Mexico City itself, which served as a reservoir of Indian labor, were formed by "casual, dense agglomerations of huts and shelters."<sup>8</sup> It was not until 1573 that the body of statutes governing the layout of towns in the New World was promulgated by the crown.<sup>9</sup>

For purposes of this inquiry the extent of Roman or of Italian humanist influence upon Spanish American architecture and city planning has a largely symbolic value. Whether or not the Renaissance left its clear mark upon the disposition and construction of the civic center, the decisive feature of the master grid was the subordination of the streets to a central will. "That is, the streets cease to be lines of centripetal forces which create the plaza by their

<sup>5</sup> George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century* (2 vols., New Haven, Conn., 1948), I, 69.

<sup>6</sup> Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Life in the Imperial and Loyal City of Mexico in New Spain and the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico* (Austin, 1953), 39-42.

<sup>7</sup> Kubler, *Mexican Architecture*, I, 77.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 74.

<sup>9</sup> "Ordenanzas de Su Majestad hechas para los nuevos descubrimientos, conquistas y pacificaciones" (July 13, 1573) in *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los archivos del reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias* (42 vols., Madrid, 1864-84), VIII, 484-537.



confluence; on the contrary, they radiate to the limit of the motive power of the organism of the city, now become aggressive in space."<sup>10</sup> To anyone steeped in the history of European cities, their organic growth and their slow sedimentation of function, the act of founding a town in a New World wilderness and in a moment of time will seem almost gratuitous.

Juan Terán once observed that the Spanish American city was laid out in a moment of repose from march or combat by persons dreaming of distant cities and of the power for which they stood. The European city "grew like an organism, from within," while the American ones grew "like mechanisms, from without, as when the headquarters of a lieutenant became those of a governor, or were erected into an *audiencia* or a bishopric." The New World city is provisional; it has "no penates or prytaneum, for it does not live in the memory of its sons." It does not commemorate its founder, nor keep alive such legends as those of the Roman wolf, the stones of Deucalion, or Cecrops of Athens.<sup>11</sup>

Sites, of course, were not chosen arbitrarily for New World cities. The royal instructions to Pedrarias Dávila, drawn up in 1513, contained many specifics in this respect. Settlements were to be well located for protecting and provisioning ships and for defending the land. Seaports were to be established with regard for the expeditious handling of cargoes. Where pack animals were unavailable, inland settlements were to be near rivers. All towns were to be close to a water supply and the mountains, swept by favorable winds, and adjacent to rich soil.<sup>12</sup> The founding of Lima, Peru, is a classic example of careful site selection. The preliminary capital had been Jauja, at 3,300 meters altitude and 40 leagues from the coast. In 1534 the Jauja town council decided to transplant the capital near the coast. The site for Lima was chosen for its good lands, its water supply and firewood, and the commercial and military advantages of its proximity to the ocean. The region had a prosperous Indian population and was a natural missionary center. Finally, the mild climate and low altitude permitted the breeding of European livestock, which had been virtually impossible in the highlands.<sup>13</sup>

In spite of these careful calculations and in spite of the experiment at Jauja, which gave an empirical basis to the founding of Lima, the Peruvian capital has been called an artificial city. Jorge Basadre writes:

Lima was a natural capital for reasons deriving from the circumstances of the

<sup>10</sup> Palm, "Orígenes del urbanismo imperial," 258.

<sup>11</sup> Juan B. Terán, *El nacimiento de la América Española* (Tucumán, 1927), 303-305.

<sup>12</sup> "Ynstrucion . . . 4 de Agosto DXIII," cclxxx-xi.

<sup>13</sup> Juan Bromley, *La fundación de la Ciudad de los Reyes* (Lima, 1935), 37-39, 43, 62-64; Carlos Monge, *Acclimatization in the Andes* (Baltimore, 1948), 34-35.

moment and later, as the centuries passed, for reasons of a cultural, intellectual and historical order. But it was an artificial capital in the sense that the political structure here came before the economic structure. . . . The main center of population and wealth was in the mountains, and Lima lacked the contact which Cuzco had had with all regions of the country.<sup>14</sup>

The key observation here is that the political structure preceded the economic. In the case of medieval Europe, of course, not every town nucleus was of commercial origin. Many were historic centers of defense, or of civil or ecclesiastical administration; there were even cases of agricultural villages which received their liberties. But the transformation of such nuclei into full-fledged towns, particularly during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, is frequently attributable to a strategic location at the intersection of two or more routes of reawakened commerce. They became natural points of crystallization for an immediate region and for far-reaching arteries of trade. Their expansion, as suggested by the *faubourg* theory of Henri Pirenne, was centripetal. That is, the town's increments of population and of economic activity in some measure obeyed regional and commercial determinants that were external to itself. In the light of European urban history, the Latin American town appears "artificial," to use Basadre's word, in so far as it aspired to be something more than a military, administrative, or missionary outpost. For a New World town was established in a vast continent where regional trade routes and regional economies were not to achieve permanent features for generations, even centuries.

A measure of the uncertainties of town settlement in the New World is the frequency with which town sites were abandoned or towns themselves transplanted. These occurrences were rare in Western Europe after 1500, by which time the modern network of towns was patterned. Though the functions of a European town may change, or it may suffer severe decline, it generally adjusts to new social and economic conditions.<sup>15</sup>

Throughout colonial Latin America the short-lived or ambulatory town is a predictable feature. In the Río de la Plata region, Buenos Aires was founded, abandoned, and refounded forty years later. Many sixteenth-century towns of the Tucumán district lived only briefly.<sup>16</sup> In Peru, the towns of Arequipa, Huamanga, and Trujillo were all moved to new sites, and San Miguel de Piura was transplanted three times.<sup>17</sup> Guayaquil was rebuilt on a

<sup>14</sup> Jorge Basadre, *La multitud, la ciudad y el campo en la historia del Perú* (Lima, 1929), 35.

<sup>15</sup> Dickinson, *West European City*, 266-67, 279.

<sup>16</sup> "La Hispano-América del siglo XVI: Colombia—Venezuela—Puerto Rico—República Argentina," in *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, ed. Germán Latorre (Seville, 1919), 136-37.

<sup>17</sup> Bromley, *Ciudad de los Reyes*, 66.

new site by Francisco de Orellana and transplanted again in 1693.<sup>18</sup> Panama City, Cali, Guatemala City, San Salvador, Havana, and León (Nicaragua) were all moved from the original sites. The first location of Puebla, in New Spain, proved to be cold and subject to frost, and its settlers were disputatious; a transfer of the town was arranged to a site some leagues distant, where the original allocation of municipal lands was maintained.<sup>19</sup> In New Granada as late as the eighteenth century there frequently occurred "transplantations *en masse* of existing settlements to new sites, brought about either voluntarily or by order of the authorities, and obeying considerations of a fiscal or economic nature."<sup>20</sup> Of Brazilian towns a geographer concludes: "The urban network is not so much the result of natural development as it is the expression of the whim of man, of the *plantadores de ciudades*. The very instability of the towns is the cause of their multiplicity."<sup>21</sup>

Such urban transfers are often individually explainable by Indian attacks, earthquakes, or faulty initial judgments of soil and climate. But taken together, and seen over a period of three or more centuries, they reflect the unstable equilibrium of a continent not internally knit by exchange and commerce. Spanish American cities were separately linked with Seville overseas, which served both as market and as source of imports. If a region had no produce for the mother country, its economy centered almost exclusively upon the market of the local town. "The city of Havana, for example, is in the sixteenth century merely the symbol and center of a certain area of land inhabited by isolated settlers, who have trouble communicating with one another and have no relations at all with the rest of the cities of the island."<sup>22</sup>

In Paraguay, the farms and ranches around Asunción were so productive that the local market became saturated. It was felt that the founding of new towns would create markets and afford relief. But as new towns appeared, each developed its own economic interests. Disputes with the mother city arose over boundaries, ownership of cattle, and access to Indian labor. Asunción soon returned to its original isolation.<sup>23</sup>

The region that is now the department of Norte de Santander, Colombia, has experienced sudden economic and population shifts for four centuries.

<sup>18</sup> George Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America* (4th ed., 2 vols., London, 1806), I, 152.

<sup>19</sup> François Chevalier, "Signification sociale de la fondation de Puebla de los Angeles," *Revista de historia de América*, XXIII (June 1947), 115 ff.

<sup>20</sup> José María Ots Capdequí, *Nuevos aspectos del siglo XVIII español en América* (Bogotá, 1946), 283.

<sup>21</sup> Pierre Deffontaines, "The Origin and Growth of the Brazilian Network of Towns," *Geographical Review*, XXVIII (July 1938), 399.

<sup>22</sup> Francisco Domínguez y Compañy, "Funciones económicas del cabildo colonial hispano-americano" in *Contribuciones a la historia municipal de América*, 143-44.

<sup>23</sup> Fulgencio R. Moreno, *La ciudad de Asunción* (Buenos Aires, 1926), 126, 151-54.

When cacao is king, the uplands are abandoned, and valley towns are founded; when coffee is king, the reverse occurs. Until the nineteenth century the three main cities were mere way stations and supply centers for the surrounding agricultural holdings. "Among these three points there was no unifying net of settlement."<sup>24</sup>

Charles Gibson has described the "uncontrolled disunity" and the "ever-shifting emphases" of the Peruvian economy after the Spanish conquest. The magnificent Inca highway system centering on Cuzco was soon fragmented, not simply because the Spaniards abused and badly maintained it, but because: "In contrast to the directional emphasis of the Inca state, Spanish economy emphasized the lateral connecting roads, as outlets from mining areas to the sea."<sup>25</sup> Even when the main flow of exchange with the mother country passed along overland routes in the New World, the location of the routes and their economic importance were strongly influenced by antecedent decisions of the crown.

The interplay of Spanish mercantilist restrictions, local economic possibilities, and the economic aspirations of New World cities has been analyzed in a study of Lima and Buenos Aires. After the second founding of Buenos Aires in 1580, its penurious inhabitants often went without salt, oil, vinegar, and even wine for the Mass. In 1588 they sent their first representative (*procurador*) to Madrid. "In one form or another, [the city] would always have one, for being represented at the Court is so essential a means toward the progress of the city that it will stop at no sacrifices to maintain one."<sup>26</sup> At times the townsmen even petitioned the king that their city be abandoned. This, however, could not be done because of political and religious reasons. The strategic river mouth could be seized by the English or French, while the Indians would revert to paganism.

What was the remedy? It was to authorize regional commerce for Buenos Aires since trade with Spain, itself a cattle-raising country, would have been inadmissible. To use Basadre's terms again, an economic or commercial structure had to be created as underpinning for a design of colonization already decided upon. Trade with Upper Peru would have been difficult for many reasons. The only alternative was to authorize trade with Brazil, then under the Spanish crown, which offered possibilities for commercial reciprocity. In 1602 the Brazil-Plata economic system was created. Buenos Aires immediately

<sup>24</sup> *Geografía histórica y económica del Norte de Santander*, ed. Miguel Marciales (Bogotá, 1948), I, 231.

<sup>25</sup> Charles Gibson, *The Inca Concept of Sovereignty and the Spanish Administration in Peru* (Austin, 1948), 94-96.

<sup>26</sup> Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo, *Lima y Buenos Aires—Repercusiones económicas y políticas de la creación del Virreinato de la Plata* (Seville, 1947), 16.

emerged from poverty. It had a market for its hides, meat, and tallow. It imported slaves to tend cattle and work in the fields. Portuguese merchants settled in the city to teach new skills to the creoles. At length the regulations were so abused that the Brazilian trade was suspended, officially at least, in 1622, and Buenos Aires was limited to a yearly traffic with Spain of two one-hundred-ton ships.

For the time being Lima made good her pretensions to be the commercial queen of the continent. She had in her favor the merchant groups of Peru and Spain, whose interest it was to preserve the galleon route via Panama and to carve out for the city as vast a commercial hinterland as possible. Buenos Aires' contraband activities were irrepressible, however, and by the late seventeenth century that city showed signs of renewed prosperity. In 1676 the custom house at Córdoba was moved north to Salta and Jujuy, signaling Buenos Aires' capture of the whole Platine market. By the mid-eighteenth century the city was vying with Lima for the markets of Chile and Upper Peru.<sup>27</sup>

The case of Lima and Buenos Aires is an example of how New World cities had to strive, not merely for commercial advantage, but for what might be called their very legitimation by commerce. It shows also the economic energies of the New World working at cross purposes with a preconceived design for urban distribution. Finally, it illustrates an early phase of the typically American phenomenon of the metropolis which comes to dominate the economic life of an extensive hinterland that is sparsely or unevenly settled and badly articulated for internal exchange.

When we narrow our focus to the lands adjacent to the city, we soon perceive that the city is the point of departure for the settlement of the soil. The municipality is in fact "the juridical agent authorized by the crown to effect concessions and allotments of land, whether rural or urban."<sup>28</sup> In other words, while the city of Western Europe represented a movement of economic energies away from extractive pursuits toward those of processing and distribution, the Latin American city was the source of energy and organization for the exploitation of natural resources.

The settlement of the Americas came at a time when the revival of Roman law had established juridical principles of separation between the public and private orders and, specifically, between land held by persons who were in feudal relation to the king as a lord and land granted by royal grace or concession by the king as head of the state. In Spain these principles were in

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-45.

<sup>28</sup> Domínguez y Compañy, "Funciones económicas," 166.

process of application to the different types of crown lands. In America the Roman tradition became exclusive, and all lands were conceived to be the property of the king as monarch, not as a private person. All land titles, then, whether for European settlers or for the Indians themselves, had to flow from royal concessions. Initially the concessions were granted in the name of the king by conquerors, viceroys, governors, or other agents. But as soon as a city was established, this power became an attribute of its town council. Although the *Leyes de Indias* stipulated that such municipal awards be confirmed by the viceroy or the president of the *audiencia*,<sup>29</sup> one historian asserts that "in spite of these requirements, which seem to limit the power of the cabildo, the latter was the body in America which most widely exercised that power and which definitely controlled the distribution of lands."<sup>30</sup> It was the power to distribute encomiendas,<sup>31</sup> not the power to grant lands, that the centralizing power of the crown reserved exclusively to the highest royal officials.

The policy of Governor Ovando on Hispaniola was to use the town from the beginning as an instrument of colonization. It was the action of Ovando's captains, rather than spontaneous compacts among groups of settlers, that was responsible for the network of towns which sprang up over the island as subcenters of political control.<sup>32</sup> Thereafter, and until the exhaustion of the treasury under Philip II, the town's political function of settling the land and the economic function of cultivating it were given more weight than the fiscal one of providing crown revenues. There even existed special authorization for creating towns *por vía de colonia*—the founding of new towns by the town council of an already established one—in contrast to the various types of settlement *por vía de capitulación*—by authority of a designated official. The crown's concern for the permanency of the settlements is revealed in an order of 1526 which forbade the inclusion in colonizing expeditions of persons who had already become settlers in the New World, "except for one or two persons in each expedition and no more, as interpreters and for other purposes necessary to such voyages."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* (3 vols., Madrid, 1943), II, Libro IV, Título 12, Leyes xx, xxi.

<sup>30</sup> Domínguez y Compañy, "Funciones económicas," 172.

<sup>31</sup> The encomienda conferred a right to collect various forms of tribute from the Indians. The recipient had only limited rights to acquire land holdings within his encomienda. See Silvio Zavala's essay "De encomiendas y propiedad territorial en algunas regiones de la América Española" in his *Estudios indios* (México, D.F., 1948), 205-307.

<sup>32</sup> Ursula Lamb, *Frey Nicolás de Ovando, Gobernador de las Indias (1501-1509)* (Madrid, 1956), 153, 160, 183.

<sup>33</sup> "Las ordenanzas sobre el buen tratamiento de los indios" (Nov. 17, 1526) in *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica 1493-1810*, ed. Richard Konetzke (2 vols., Madrid, 1953-58), I, 89-96.

The process of land distribution on a new site has often been described. In the famous case of Lima, the first city plan contained 117 blocks, 450 feet on a side, each subdivided into 4 lots or *solares* and bounded by streets 40 feet wide. The lots were allocated on the day of the city's founding, and each recipient's name was written in the appropriate square on the master plan. Beyond this urban center came the city commons and pasture lands (partly intended as a safety valve for future city growth), then the lands that might be rented to or distributed among the townsmen. The distributed lands went to persons who had received urban *solares*.<sup>34</sup> All land was under municipal jurisdiction, and theoretically there were no interstices between jurisdictions. This meant that in less settled territory the municipal radius might extend for hundreds of miles. The *cabildo* of Havana made land grants on both the northern and southern coasts of Cuba, sometimes thirty-five or forty leagues distant from the city.<sup>35</sup> Since agriculture and stock raising remained under the supervision of the town council, municipal representatives might be sent long distances to inspect the state of production, and, in time of shortage, to requisition supplies wanted for the town.

As has been implied, a spirit of collectivism was carried to the New World in a distinction between private and communal lands. Even private lands were not to be given in perpetuity until four to eight years of effective possession could be shown. Many factors, however, militated against the communitarian spirit and against an organic pattern of settlement. Among these, importance is often given to the increased fiscal demands of the crown under Philip II, which prejudiced the functions of the town as an agent for settling the land and for appropriating its resources. More and more, lands were auctioned off to the highest bidder, without regard for the nature of their subsequent utilization. But to dwell upon this trend would divert us from our functional examination of the city in its New World setting.

Since lands in America were deemed the possession of the crown rather than a feudal holding, it was natural for the attribute of outright ownership to be assumed by settlers who received land in concession. In the vast spaces and shifting communities of America, status was defined by the control of the land, rather than, as in a traditional society, the relation to the land being a function of status. The urgency with which land was pre-empted was therefore heightened by the process of social leveling that attended the settlement. In 1509 King Ferdinand reported that in the distribution of urban lots "no distinction is made in giving to and favoring some persons more than others,

<sup>34</sup> Juan Bromley and José Barbagelata, *Evolución urbana de la ciudad de Lima* (Lima, 1945), 51-53.

<sup>35</sup> Domínguez y Compañy, "Funciones económicas," 176-77.



but the farmer and common people are given just as much as other leading persons."<sup>36</sup> It was the crown's initial policy that the artisan and agricultural colonist should replace the soldier and adventurer. This was difficult to carry out. Spain had few colonists to export, and the adventurers, those at least who had luck, prowess, or ingenuity, were soon entrenched. The sequel, therefore, to the leveling process is the entrenchment of the privileged few, the conquerors, at the expense of the latecomers and the unprivileged many, who often found their rallying point in the municipality. Throughout the colonial period a struggle persisted between, on one hand, those early colonizers and their descendants "who had become *latifundistas* with the support of real or assumed privileges" and, on the other, a series of needy people who desired land for farming and lacked it, in districts where the land was available in prodigious quantity."<sup>37</sup> This clash of interests was sharply articulated when the crown at length attempted to regularize the system of land titles.

In short, the town, which gave the thrust for utilizing both land and rural Indian labor, might soon be encircled by private holdings, with opportunities for further settlement closed off and perhaps the municipal common lands distributed. In 1541 the council of Mexico City complained of private cattle and sheep *estancias* on municipal lands; later it reproached the landowners who were holding grain off the market and creating a food shortage.<sup>38</sup> The acts of the Havana council record that as early as 1552 private farms in the commons, or *ejido*, impeded the leading of cattle to pasturage, for landowners had the right to kill animals that damaged their crops. Twenty-five years later the commons had wholly disappeared, and "neither in this town nor near to it does there exist an *ejido*."<sup>39</sup>

In Buenos Aires twenty-six persons soon took possession of all the arable land that could be worked easily from the city and was readily accessible to the consuming market. "The band of iron was thus created which would hold back the economic development of the city for many years."<sup>40</sup> The latecomer had the choice of usurping common lands; becoming a tenant, with the knowledge that his landlord might confiscate a good crop; or pushing to the frontier where, working under the threat of Indian attack, he could expect his holding to be awarded to a person of influence with the governor as soon as he had improved it.

<sup>36</sup> "Real Cédula a Don Diego Colón" (Nov. 14, 1509) in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, XXXI, 501.

<sup>37</sup> José María Ots Capdequí, *El régimen de la tierra en la América Española durante el período colonial* (Ciudad Trujillo, 1946), 40.

<sup>38</sup> *Actas de Cabildo de la Ciudad de México* (15 vols., México, D.F., 1889-1900), IV, 258 (Nov. 4, 1541), and V, 44-45 (May 15, 1544).

<sup>39</sup> Domínguez y Compañy, "Funciones económicas," 168-69.

<sup>40</sup> Juan Agustín García, *La ciudad indiana* (Buenos Aires, 1937), 57-58.

From what has gone before, it is clear that a significant sector of municipal society was composed not of townsmen, but of mere cohabitants whose horizons of hope or endeavor the city failed to contain. The city distributed status- and fortune-seekers out to unexploited areas of economic promise with a centrifugal effect that contrasts with the centripetalism of the late medieval town.

New World settlers brought with them, to be sure, traditions of the medieval Iberian municipal community. These were standardized in Spanish and Portuguese legislation for the Indies on such matters as the municipal control of common lands, the corporate or guild structure of urban crafts, professions, and commerce, the election of town officials by property owners, and price control and regulation of commerce. It can even be argued that municipal autonomy showed renewed life in America at the very time it was being stifled on the peninsula.<sup>41</sup> Much of this original vigor, however, was externally induced by the threat of Indian attack, by threats of foreign attack upon the coastal cities, by deprivation from famine or drought, and by geographical isolation. Occasionally, an earthquake would kindle the guilt feelings of a city and quite literally shake its citizenry into a sense of civic responsibility. But as the external threats to survival were lifted, the disintegrative attraction of plain, mine, and forest was asserted. This attraction was more damaging to the cohesion of urban society than was the surrender of municipal liberties to the nation-state, which occurred throughout the Western world. To elucidate this point, one may take from a study of New World immigrants the generalization that, whereas in Europe territorial vicinity is the foundation of community life and of social organization, in the New World a rational calculation of life chances becomes the main factor of territorial concentration.<sup>42</sup>

Occasionally in America the European blueprint of municipal nucleation was defeated from the start by the dissolvent effect of the hinterland. The captain-general of São Paulo despaired of implanting the Portuguese system of village settlements in Brazil. In 1768 he wrote:

There is nothing so useful, and necessary, as villages. . . . I do not speak of the difficulties of transplanting the new settlers, those who do not want to go, others who ask the impossible, others who cry, and others who hide, for all of this is overcome; I refer to the many desires that it is necessary to conciliate for a thing so just, and necessary, and which I am unable to do with my forces, and neither is it possible for me to compel them.

<sup>41</sup> See José María Ots Capdequí, *Manual de historia del derecho español en las Indias* (Buenos Aires, 1945), 368.

<sup>42</sup> William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (2d ed., 2 vols., New York, 1927), II, 1546-47.

The captain-general described the wasteful methods of agriculture and wrote, "Men seeking virgin forest ever are separating themselves further from Civil Society." Newly arrived Portuguese were almost the only persons of means in the towns, for well-to-do landowners maintained only secondary residences in them. People of humble station objected to community life "because they want to live in liberty, in dissoluteness, in their vices, free from every kind of justice; and the great ones because they want to exploit the former, . . . and from this are born or thought up all the ways possible to impede the establishment of the villages."<sup>43</sup>

The frustrations of this official had their counterpart in the Spanish realm. In 1750 the viceroy of New Granada wrote to the governor of Santa Marta telling him first to take advice from the most practical householders and then to order that:

. . . all persons having no estate or occupation from which to live be invited, and if necessary *compelled*, to group together and reside in those places to be designated, obliging them to assist each other to build their houses and allotting among them, in common and privately, the lands they will need.<sup>44</sup>

Not only was it difficult to nucleate the settlement process, but the smaller nuclei, once created, were difficult to maintain. In northern Mexico by 1600 many municipalities were on the brink of dissolution. Their chief inhabitants lived on distant estates, and regulations had to be passed obliging every person of property to maintain a house in the town and to reside in it at least during important ceremonial periods.<sup>45</sup> The little towns of eighteenth-century Puerto Rico were generally deserted during the week except for the priest, and even he was frequently visiting the farms. On Sundays and feast days the people rode into town on horseback, made themselves comfortable in their houses—or in other houses, as doors were not locked—then heard Mass and returned directly to the country.<sup>46</sup> Colonial Buenos Aires was left without any government on occasions when the whole town council rode out to make war against the Indians or to conduct a cattle roundup.<sup>47</sup> During the last years of the Mexican regime, San Francisco, California, still had no jail. When a criminal was seized, the inhabitants asked that he be sent to prison in San José, for they themselves each had "agricultural and stock interests at

<sup>43</sup> Letters of Morgado de Mateus quoted by Carlos Borges Schmidt, "Rural Life in Brazil," in *Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent*, ed. T. Lynn Smith and Alexander Marchant (New York, 1951), 169–71.

<sup>44</sup> Quoted in Ots Capdequí, *Nuevos aspectos*, 284–85.

<sup>45</sup> François Chevalier, *La formation des grandes domaines au Mexique: Terre et société aux XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1952), 293.

<sup>46</sup> Íñigo Abbad y Lasierra, *Historia geográfica, civil y natural de la Isla de San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico* (new ed., San Juan, 1866), 407.

<sup>47</sup> Adolfo Garretón, *La municipalidad colonial—Buenos Aires desde su fundación, hasta el gobierno de Lariz* (Buenos Aires, 1933), 81–82, 107–108.

a great distance from the town, so that there were very few remaining to guard the criminal, and these could not spare the time from their personal business."<sup>48</sup> The streets of colonial Salvador, Brazil, were lively only from April to June. For the rest of the time the owners of sugar estates lived in the country with their retinues, where they could hear Mass and celebrate feast days in their private chapels. This dislocation of the proprietors drew off from the city a swarm of peddlers, middlemen, and urban officials.<sup>49</sup>

In the São Paulo region of Brazil, outlying sugar plantations exerted such attraction for town fathers that often they could not be bothered with the long journey into town to conduct municipal business. Town government might be paralyzed for months, even years at a time, as the able-bodied men, organized into *bandeiras*, roamed the hinterland in search of Indian slaves or precious metals. The *bandeira* was a significant institution. For if, in their formal aspects, the Spanish American city and the Spanish Jesuit mission were projections upon America of idealized European communities, the *bandeira* appears as the ideal version of a community obeying the imperatives of the New World. It was a community become completely mobile. When far from home, a *bandeira* might settle in the wilderness, clearing the ground, planting and harvesting a crop, then continuing its quest. Its human spectrum included Europeans (Portuguese with a scattering of Spaniards, Italians, Flemings, and others), Indians, mestizos, and sometimes Negroes, accompanied by one or more priests. The group was tightly knit and hierarchically organized. Extended, patriarchal family systems provided its structure; ability to dominate the wilderness determined its leadership; and the morality and trust born of the frontier were its binding force. The *bandeira* adapted to the ways of the Indian, taking over his crops, his implements, his hammocks, and utilizing his Tupi Guarani language as a lingua franca.<sup>50</sup>

Despite its appearance of nomadic tribalism, the *bandeira* was of municipal, not of agrarian or pastoral origin. It was organized in the towns, and town councilors were its leaders. It has been called a "city on the march." "Only the city could furnish the 'social impetus,' the political organization, the element of command, the cultural requisites . . . and the other conditions indispensable for constituting the *bandeira*. The language of its documents (acts, inventories and testaments) leaves no doubt on this score."<sup>51</sup> When the *bandeira* left permanent settlements behind it, they took the form of municipalities.

<sup>48</sup> Bernard Moses, *The Establishment of Municipal Government in San Francisco* (Baltimore, 1889), 22.

<sup>49</sup> Thales de Azevedo, *Povoamento da cidade do Salvador* (2d ed., São Paulo, 1955), 152.

<sup>50</sup> See José de Alcantara Machado, *Vida e morte do bandeirante* (2d ed., São Paulo, 1930).

<sup>51</sup> Cassiano Ricardo, *Marcha para oeste* (2d ed., 2 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1942), II, 191-93.

Qualification is needed of a distinction frequently made between the towns of Spanish America and those of Brazil. It has been pointed out that whereas the Spaniards implanted their proud, geometric cities boldly inland, on carefully chosen and strategic plateau sites, the modest Brazilian towns grew up haphazardly, straggling along the coast like crabs, in subordination to the great rural estates and to the magnetic attraction of the backlands.<sup>52</sup> Now it is true that Brazilian society was more agrarian than Spanish American and that the Brazilian city before the eighteenth century was a center neither of prestige nor of power. But we are interested here in the relation of city and backland, not in the distribution of social power between them. It has been said that the first Brazilian towns were, like the Spanish, "products of the metropolitan will. Nothing spontaneous or natural attends their birth. For some, even the site is preselected from Lisbon."<sup>53</sup> The founding of a town was marked by the erection of the *pelourinho*, a column with an iron shackle representing administration of justice. Soon, a council house, jail, and church were built, and grants of land (*sesmarias*) were made to the settlers. In the case of the first capital, Salvador, the site was specified by the crown, as was the need for proper winds, a good water supply, and a deep port. To be sure, none of the early towns boasted elaborate public buildings, and although some had the beginnings of a geometric plan, grid-planning came into systematic use only in the nineteenth century.<sup>54</sup> As was said, however, the towns' physical appearances are partly of symbolic value for our purposes. One can still make the case that the more important Brazilian towns represented, no less than the Spanish, the intrusion of formal, metropolitan bureaucracy into an empty continent.

Salvador may have seemed little more than a village to the eye. Yet it was founded in 1549 with "a complete judiciary, financial, administrative and military organization."<sup>55</sup> Before long the city's streets were filled with students, clerics, magistrates, lawyers, and other urban types who were virtually parasitic in this small outpost on the rim of an ocean of untamed land. Those human elements having functional and productive potential were drawn off to extractive pursuits in the backlands or on plantations, or in the case of clerics, to the Indian missions. For those remaining in the city, temptations of parasitism and vagrancy were great. The vagabond became a familiar type. By 1775 the Lisbon government had learned that a good proportion of the city's 45,000 inhabitants were "robust youths who, abandoned

<sup>52</sup> See Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *Raízes do Brasil* (2d ed., Rio de Janeiro, 1948), 130 ff., and Roger Bastide, *Brésil, terre des contrastes* (Paris, 1957), 25-26.

<sup>53</sup> Edmundo Zenha, *O município no Brasil (1532-1700)* (São Paulo, 1948), 24.

<sup>54</sup> Aroldo de Azevedo, *Vilas e cidades do Brasil colonial* (São Paulo, 1956), 72.

<sup>55</sup> Thales de Azevedo, *Povoamento da cidade do Salvador*, 131.

to a lazy and licentious life, serve the republic only by stirring up disorders."<sup>56</sup> At about this time the first Brazilian viceroy wrote of Rio de Janeiro that it was necessary "to rehabilitate this city a little, which has only friars, clerics, soldiers and beggars. The noble men live in the country and are the ones which serve me. They are good vassals."<sup>57</sup>

In the Spanish realm the king learned as early as 1509 that "many of them who go to those *Indies* were accustomed before going there to earn their own living with their hands, and after arriving there they do not wish to do so."<sup>58</sup> The vagrant or parasite was soon prominent in New Spain.<sup>59</sup> Forty years after the conquest it was calculated that more than one Spaniard in six there had no fixed domicile.<sup>60</sup> In 1608 a crown official in Guadalajara urged forced employment for the many vagabonds, such as the

. . . Spaniards who come from other parts and, from being officials, turn into idlers and either travel around as small traders with little capital . . . or else shift from job to job. And if a magistrate visits the land or a judge acts severely, they give him the slip and wander elsewhere without appearing where they can be brought to reckoning.<sup>61</sup>

The fluidity and uncertainties alluded to suggest the unleashing of an individualistic, almost predatory spirit in New World life, and a highly unstable element in the hierarchical society which soon took shape. As in the United States of Tocqueville's time, so in colonial Latin America there occurred a traumatic process of cultural and, at moments, social democratization. To this process the nature of the rural-urban complex in the New World clearly contributed. The city was an outpost of metropolitan bureaucracy, imperial and ecclesiastical, in which status and function were determined by royal appointment. On lands surrounding the city, and in the smaller towns, they were controlled by persons who soon pre-empted the soil and Indian labor. Those who were not favored by privilege or bound to the land in servitude faced the choice of living parasitically off the vested interests or of scattering from the centers of settlement centrifugally in search of windfalls and unpre-empted productive lands.

We have noted the dissolvent effect of the new continents both upon the communitarian traditions of rural, seignorial Europe, and upon the metropolitan institutions of urban, imperial Europe. As compensation for this effect,

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 429n.

<sup>57</sup> Quoted in Vivaldo Coaracy, *Memórias da cidade do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1955), 567.

<sup>58</sup> "Real Cédula a Don Diego Colón" (Nov. 4, 1509), 494.

<sup>59</sup> Norman F. Martin, *Los vagabundos en la Nueva España, siglo XVI* (México, D.F., 1957).

<sup>60</sup> Chevalier, *Formation des grandes domaines au Mexique*, 29.

<sup>61</sup> "Como se remediará el exceso de muchos bagabundos . . ." (Feb. 28, 1608), *ibid.*, 432.

it has been suggested that the *compadrazgo* and other extended family systems took a new lease on life in the Americas at the very moment when they were giving way in early modern Europe to the "more impersonal modes of organization" of the nation-state and of industrial society.<sup>62</sup>

In the case of Salvador, the partial atrophy of the metropolitan bureaucracy was compensated by a strengthening of familial ties. Among the upper class these might take the form of coparenthood relations, among the slaves and poor Negroes, that of a matriarchal organization showing African influence. The substrata of urban and rural society, indeed, appeared not to be highly differentiated.<sup>63</sup> In Mexico the *compadre* system fortified and extended the guarantees of mutual aid and protection determined by ties of blood. Leaders or officials made their power effective by attracting bands of retainers reminiscent of the extended Mediterranean families, the Roman gens or the Corsican vendetta. The crown frequently acknowledged and sought to eliminate the threat to its power created by this new feudalism.<sup>64</sup> In Buenos Aires a patriarchal and authoritarian extended family system "counteracted the dissolvent germs, the evil results of an unhealthy social situation."<sup>65</sup> In the Cauca region of New Granada the strong family units were tied to the municipality by the weakest bonds. The municipality, in turn, was hostile toward the natural region, and the regions were cut off from each other. The family was therefore the innermost of a series of units—including the *municipio*, the region, and the central political unit—which were in the relation of concentric, rather than interlocking rings.<sup>66</sup>

The importance of family ties in Latin America's urban social organization continues into the modern period. The prominent institutions of the modern metropolis, the factory system, the political party, the labor union, have had to accommodate to familial or primary group types of association, which have limited spheres of effectiveness and which may not be brought to extremes of rational organization. The city, therefore, which has contributed an individualistic, exploitative spirit to the settling of the land, exhibits internally the traces of agrarian, familial social structure.

A second aspect of the modern urban history of Latin America which the colonial centuries help to explain is the tumultuous growth of certain large cities and the intensification of the metropolis-hinterland complex. The prin-

<sup>62</sup> Sidney W. Mintz and Eric R. Wolf, "An Analysis of Ritual Co-parenthood (*Compadrazgo*)," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, VI (Winter 1950), 341-68.

<sup>63</sup> Thales de Azevedo, *Povoamento da cidade do Salvador*, 209-13.

<sup>64</sup> Chevalier, *Formation des grandes domaines au Mexique*, 28-38, 193, 214, 431-32.

<sup>65</sup> García, *Ciudad indiana*, 81-91.

<sup>66</sup> Raymond E. Crist, *The Cauca Valley, Colombia, Land Tenure and Land Use* (Baltimore, 1952), 40.



cial causes of the phenomenon are the extension of modern transportation systems, generally centered upon capital cities, into areas where there exist no tightly woven networks of economically vigorous towns; and the existence of impoverished rural proletariats living in weakly organized communities and easily drawn off by the attractions of city life. The economic activity which made the metropolis possible was not manufacturing and internal trade, which would have multiplied and decentralized the growth of cities, but plantation agriculture, cattle raising, and mining. Profits went abroad or to middlemen in a few cities, and they brought little benefit to the centers of production. Even the landowners were often heavily mortgaged; in any case they lived more and more in the capital city or outside the country. That is, just as in earlier centuries the *encomienda* drained the leadership and vitality of the town, so in the nineteenth century the city drained those of the *hacienda*.

Western Europe, of course, knows the metropolis, but not the vast metropolitan hinterland. For there the close spacing of many cities, each with its own economic vigor and traditions of civic independence, constricts the radii of influence. The marketing territory for a given city or port is often not clearly defined.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, the rural migration to European cities, heavy though it has been since the Industrial Revolution, still shows traces of the organic process posited for the late Middle Ages.<sup>68</sup> The Latin American migration to cities has a diluvial character, and the abrupt change of occupation from unskilled agricultural labor to factory work is not uncommon. This may be attributed in part to large wage differentials and to the rapidity with which recent industrialization has occurred. But we can also say that the exploitation of the land, which was settled from the town during the latter's centrifugal phase, created forms of rural social organization which largely lacked inner coherence and roots in the soil. Now that the city has become centripetal, it attracts massively and unselectively from the rural zone. As the Latin American city once sowed, so now does it reap.

It may be that exception will be taken to the emphasis which this exposition places upon New World environment, and to the silence in which the Iberian municipal backgrounds are passed over. For, it will be argued, the Iberians became a municipal people during the Reconquest of Spain from the Moors, which was necessarily a process of colonization by towns rather than by unprotected rural settlement. It has even been said that chronic in-

<sup>67</sup> Robert E. Dickinson, *City, Region and Regionalism: A Geographical Contribution to Human Ecology* (London, 1947), 232 ff.

<sup>68</sup> *Villes et campagnes: Civilisation urbaine et civilisation rurale en France*, ed. Georges Friedmann (Paris, 1953), 159-61.

stability throughout the Mediterranean area was responsible for historic patterns of municipal settlement which contrast with the villages and landed feudalism of northwestern Europe.<sup>69</sup> On this view, the conquest of America is an overseas continuation of the conquest of Moorish Spain, and the colonizing pattern has medieval origins in the peninsula. This argument is reasonable, and it is precisely in recognition of it that the city of northwestern Europe has been taken as a purer type for contrast with the city of the New World. It is by intention that historical innovation has been stressed, rather than historical continuity.

Even so, there are grounds for contrasting the Reconquest of the peninsula and the conquest of America. In Spain and Portugal the weight of Christian-Visigothic usage, the traditions of a slowly evolved social hierarchy, the long-standing pressures of religious faiths and regional cultures, and the limited horizons of economic possibility combined to endow regional societies of the peninsula with a certain coherence and organicity. The medieval Reconquest of Spain lasted seven centuries and resulted in the retaking of some 200,000 square miles of land. The conquest of America occurred under the impetus of the commercial revolution; within fifty years of the landing of Hernando Cortes in Mexico a territory that could contain thirty or forty Iberian peninsulas had been claimed, and much of it settled, by a few thousand men. To stress only the similarity of Iberian institutions in these two settings is to run the risk of formalism. This is repeatedly done by the historian who finds "no essential difference between the colonizing technique of the high Middle Ages in the Mediterranean and that of modern times in the Atlantic area, that is, particularly in America."<sup>70</sup>

Since our theory of town and land in Latin America has been elaborated with particular reference to New World environment, even a cursory comparison with the settlement patterns of North America would serve to check its usefulness. It will be remembered that both at Plymouth and in Virginia the initial experiments in corporate production and trade were failures. The colonial promoters soon "introduced private ownership of land, economic inequality, and the profit motive."<sup>71</sup> In British North America as in Latin America the first yields of the land worked their centrifugal effect upon the nuclei of settlement once the initial hardships had been surmounted. Twelve years after the founding of Plymouth, its people were "flowing into the country" to grow crops and raise cattle, wrote Governor William Bradford. The

<sup>69</sup> Pierre George, *La ville: Le fait urbain à travers le monde* (Paris, 1952), 42-43.

<sup>70</sup> Charles Verlinden, *Précédents médiévaux de la colonie en Amérique* (Mexico, D.F., 1954), 10.

<sup>71</sup> Curtis P. Nettels, *The Roots of American Civilization* (New York, 1938), 222.

economic benefits therefrom "turned to their hurt," he observed: "For now as their stocks increased and the increase vendible, there was no longer any holding them together. . . . [They] were scattered all over the Bay quickly and the town in which they lived till now was left very thin and in a short time almost desolate."<sup>72</sup> In South Carolina the crown attempted to achieve the ideal of "compact settlement" in the laying out of townships. "In course of time, however, the rural town system . . . was largely absorbed by the plantation."<sup>73</sup> In French Canada, the "ribboning" of the seignories along riverbanks made nucleation an infrequent occurrence, much to the distress of French officials. "Village life, a characteristic of the feudal system in France, was thus eliminated."<sup>74</sup>

Checkerboard town planning is generally not associated with British North America until the nineteenth century. The streets of early Connecticut towns, however, were often symmetrically arranged.<sup>75</sup> Two important colonial cities, Charleston and Philadelphia, were laid out on gridiron plans, and Philadelphia's became the model for the subsequent frontier cities. The plan for New Haven is of interest for the Latin American comparison because it was inspired by the maxims of Vitruvius. Making allowance for the magnetic declination from true north at New Haven in 1638, one finds that the orientation of the city's streets almost exactly followed the directions given by Vitruvius for counteracting the force of prevailing winds.<sup>76</sup>

As the settlement of the trans-Appalachian West got under way, "the establishment of towns preceded the breaking of soil. The towns were the spearheads of the frontier."<sup>77</sup> Public lands were always set aside and almost always alienated as the town grew. Population figures for St. Louis during the early years "are unsatisfactory because a large number of its residents spend most of their time in the mountains or mines."<sup>78</sup> Each town had its quota of "traders and transients who had no stake in its development"; of seasonally employed boatmen, wagoners, and prospectors; and of vagabonds leading "the aimless and uncertain life of floaters."<sup>79</sup> Even when a town was

<sup>72</sup> William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation 1620-1647* (New York, 1952), 252-53.

<sup>73</sup> Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States* (2 vols., New York, 1941), I, 378-79.

<sup>74</sup> Ralph H. Brown, *Historical Geography of the United States* (New York, 1948), 48-49.

<sup>75</sup> Anthony N. B. Garvan, *Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial Connecticut* (New Haven, Conn., 1951), 42-43; see also Granville Sharp, *A General Plan for Laying Out Towns and Townships, on the New-acquired Lands in the East Indies, America, or Elsewhere* (London, 1794), 3-4.

<sup>76</sup> Garvan, *Architecture and Town Planning*, 44-49.

<sup>77</sup> Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 1.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 201n.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 11, 123, 219.

established at the confluence of two navigable rivers, it was a gamble whether the choice of site would be legitimized by the subsequent development of regional production and trade. The most successful cities followed the earlier example of Boston, which by 1680 had subjugated and become the commercial agent for a broad hinterland stretching from Newfoundland to the Connecticut River towns.<sup>80</sup>

In North as in South America we come upon this paradox, that the town, distinguished in Europe for its commercial radius and its manufacturing activity, served in the New World as the point of departure for contact with the soil, in territories where no internal trade routes were defined and where manufacturing was restricted by the policies of mercantilism. A disproportionate number of the European emigrants were of urban origin, and a great many of them had been, for social, economic, or religious reasons, marginal types in the Old World. Inevitably, the acquisitive and speculative spirit found new avenues of release. Generous possibilities for exploiting soil and subsoil pulled newcomers across the face of the land, dimming the memories of feudal restraint. Environment and opportunity rather than usage and ceremony dictated social organization. Space rather than time became the leading factor of the American experience.

The preceding analysis of the settlement of Latin America is set forth with a view to its relevance for all the Americas. It hinges neither upon the national culture and traditions of the settlers nor upon a localized and culture-bound definition of a given New World "frontier." What is stressed is the process of change and innovation that affects any migration of people, whatever their cultural heritage and motivations, who venture forth from a mature society into an empty continent. Such a stress, it is felt, is the one most likely to yield fruitful hypotheses for a comparative history of the Americas.

<sup>80</sup> Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742* (New York, 1938), 32-33.

## Political Experience and Enlightenment Ideas in Eighteenth-Century America

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THE political and social ideas of the European Enlightenment have had a peculiar importance in American history. More universally accepted in eighteenth-century America than in Europe, they were more completely and more permanently embodied in the formal arrangements of state and society; and, less controverted, less subject to criticism and dispute, they have lived on more vigorously into later periods, more continuous and more intact. The peculiar force of these ideas in America resulted from many causes. But originally, and basically, it resulted from the circumstances of the prerevolutionary period and from the bearing of these ideas on the political experience of the American colonists.

What this bearing was—the nature of the relationship between Enlightenment ideas and early American political experience—is a matter of particular interest at the present time because it is centrally involved in what amounts to a fundamental revision of early American history now under way. By implication if not direct evidence and argument, a number of recent writings have undermined much of the structure of historical thought by which, for a generation or more, we have understood our eighteenth-century origins, and in particular have placed new and insupportable pressures on its central assumption concerning the political significance of Enlightenment thought. Yet the need for rather extensive rebuilding has not been felt, in part because the architecture has not commonly been seen as a whole—as a unit, that is, of mutually dependent parts related to a central premise—in part because the damage has been piecemeal and uncoordinated: here a beam destroyed, there a stone dislodged, the inner supports only slowly weakened and the balance only gradually thrown off. The edifice still stands, mainly, it seems, by habit and by the force of inertia. A brief consideration of the whole, consequently, a survey from a position far enough above the details to see the outlines of the over-all architecture, and an attempt, however tentative, to sketch a line—a principle—of reconstruction would seem to be in order.

A basic, organizing assumption of the group of ideas that dominated the

\* Mr. Bailyn, professor at Harvard University, presented this paper in a briefer form to the XIth International Congress of Historical Sciences, Stockholm, 1960. As printed here, it was read at the Massachusetts Historical Society, January 12, 1961.

earlier interpretation of eighteenth-century American history is the belief that previous to the Revolution the political experience of the colonial Americans had been roughly analogous to that of the English. Control of public authority had been firmly held by a native aristocracy—merchants and landlords in the North, planters in the South—allied, commonly, with British officialdom. By restricting representation in the provincial assemblies, limiting the franchise, and invoking the restrictive power of the English state, this aristocracy had dominated the governmental machinery of the mainland colonies. Their political control, together with legal devices such as primogeniture and entail, had allowed them to dominate the economy as well. Not only were they successful in engrossing landed estates and mercantile fortunes, but they were for the most part able also to fight off the clamor of yeoman debtors for cheap paper currency, and of depressed tenants for freehold property. But the control of this colonial counterpart of a traditional aristocracy, with its Old World ideas of privilege and hierarchy, orthodoxy in religious establishment, and economic inequality, was progressively threatened by the growing strength of a native, frontier-bred democracy that expressed itself most forcefully in the lower houses of the “rising” provincial assemblies. A conflict between the two groups and ways of life was building up, and it broke out in fury after 1765.

The outbreak of the Revolution, the argument runs, fundamentally altered the old regime. The Revolution destroyed the power of this traditional aristocracy, for the movement of opposition to parliamentary taxation, 1760–1776, originally controlled by conservative elements, had been taken over by extremists nourished on Enlightenment radicalism, and the once dominant conservative groups had gradually been alienated. The break with England over the question of home rule was part of a general struggle, as Carl Becker put it, over who shall rule at home. Independence gave control to the radicals, who, imposing their advanced doctrines on a traditional society, transformed a rebellious secession into a social revolution. They created a new regime, a reformed society, based on enlightened political and social theory.

But that is not the end of the story; the sequel is important. The success of the enlightened radicals during the early years of the Revolution was notable; but, the argument continues, it was not wholly unqualified. The remnants of the earlier aristocracy, though defeated, had not been eliminated: they were able to reassert themselves in the postwar years. In the 1780's they gradually regained power until, in what amounted to a counterrevolution, they impressed their views indelibly on history in the new federal Constitution, in the revocation of some of the more enthusiastic actions of the earlier revolutionary period, and in the Hamiltonian program for the new

government. This was not, of course, merely the old regime resurrected. In a new age whose institutions and ideals had been born of revolutionary radicalism, the old conservative elements made adjustments and concessions by which to survive and periodically to flourish as a force in American life.

The importance of this formulation derived not merely from its usefulness in interpreting eighteenth-century history. It provided a key also for understanding the entire course of American politics. By its light, politics in America, from the very beginning, could be seen to have been a dialectical process in which an aristocracy of wealth and power struggled with the People, who, ordinarily ill-organized and inarticulate, rose upon provocation armed with powerful institutional and ideological weapons, to reform a periodically corrupt and oppressive polity.

In all of this the underlying assumption is the belief that Enlightenment thought—the reforming ideas of advanced thinkers in eighteenth-century England and on the Continent—had been the effective lever by which native American radicals had turned a dispute on imperial relations into a sweeping reformation of public institutions and thereby laid the basis for American democracy.

For some time now, and particularly during the last decade, this interpretation has been fundamentally weakened by the work of many scholars working from different approaches and on different problems. Almost every important point has been challenged in one way or another.<sup>1</sup> All arguments concerning politics during the prerevolutionary years have been affected by

<sup>1</sup> Recent revisionist writings on eighteenth-century America are voluminous. The main points of reinterpretation will be found in the following books and articles, to which specific reference is made in the paragraphs that follow: Robert E. Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1955); E. James Ferguson, "Currency Finance: An Interpretation of Colonial Monetary Practices," *William and Mary Quarterly*, X (Apr. 1953), 153-80; Theodore Thayer, "The Land Bank System in the American Colonies," *Journal of Economic History*, XIII (Spring 1953), 145-59; Bray Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to the Civil War* (Princeton, N. J., 1957); George A. Billias, *The Massachusetts Land Bankers of 1740* (Orono, Me., 1959); Milton M. Klein, "Democracy and Politics in Colonial New York," *New York History*, XL (July 1959), 221-46; Oscar and Mary F. Handlin, "Radicals and Conservatives in Massachusetts after Independence," *New England Quarterly*, XVII (Sept. 1944), 343-55; Bernard Bailyn, "The Blount Papers: Notes on the Merchant 'Class' in the Revolutionary Period," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XI (Jan. 1954), 98-104; Frederick B. Tolles, "The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement: A Re-Evaluation," *American Historical Review*, LX (Oct. 1954), 1-12; Robert E. Brown, *Charles Beard and the Constitution: A Critical Analysis of "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution"* (Princeton, N. J., 1956); Forrest McDonald, *We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago, 1958); Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Genius of American Politics* (Chicago, 1953), and *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (New York, 1958). References to other writings and other viewpoints will be found in Edmund S. Morgan, "The American Revolution: Revisions in Need of Revising," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIV (Jan. 1957), 3-15; and Richard B. Morris, "The Confederation Period and the American Historian," *ibid.*, XIII (Apr. 1956), 139-56.



an exhaustive demonstration for one colony, which might well be duplicated for others, that the franchise, far from having been restricted in behalf of a borough-mongering aristocracy, was widely available for popular use. Indeed, it was more widespread than the desire to use it—a fact which in itself calls into question a whole range of traditional arguments and assumptions. Similarly, the Populist terms in which economic elements of prerevolutionary history have most often been discussed may no longer be used with the same confidence. For it has been shown that paper money, long believed to have been the inflationary instrument of a depressed and desperate debtor yeomanry, was in general a fiscally sound and successful means—whether issued directly by the governments or through land banks—not only of providing a medium of exchange but also of creating sources of credit necessary for the growth of an underdeveloped economy and a stable system of public finance for otherwise resourceless governments. Merchants and creditors commonly supported the issuance of paper, and many of the debtors who did so turn out to have been substantial property owners.

Equally, the key writings extending the interpretation into the revolutionary years have come under question. The first and still classic monograph detailing the inner social struggle of the decade before 1776—Carl Becker's *History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760-1776* (1909)—has been subjected to sharp criticism on points of validation and consistency. And, because Becker's book, like other studies of the movement toward revolution, rests upon a belief in the continuity of "radical" and "conservative" groupings, it has been weakened by an analysis proving such terminology to be deceptive in that it fails to define consistently identifiable groups of people. Similarly, the "class" characteristic of the merchant group in the northern colonies, a presupposition of important studies of the merchants in the revolutionary movement, has been questioned, and along with it the belief that there was an economic or occupational basis for positions taken on the revolutionary controversy. More important, a recent survey of the writings following up J. F. Jameson's classic essay, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (1926), has shown how little has been written in the last twenty-five years to substantiate that famous statement of the Revolution as a movement of social reform. Most dramatic of all has been the demolition of Charles Beard's *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (1913), which stood solidly for over forty years as the central pillar of the counterrevolution argument: the idea, that is, that the Constitution was a "conservative" document, the polar opposite of the "radical" Articles of Confederation, embodying the interests and desires of public creditors and other moneyed conservatives,

and marking the Thermidorian conclusion to the enlightened radicalism of the early revolutionary years.

Finally, there are arguments of another sort, assertions to the effect that not only did Enlightenment ideas not provoke native American radicals to undertake serious reform during the Revolution, but that ideas have never played an important role in American public life, in the eighteenth century or after, and that the political "genius" of the American people, during the Revolution as later, has lain in their brute pragmatism, their successful resistance to the "distant example and teachings of the European Enlightenment," the maunderings of "garret-spawned European illuminati."

Thus from several directions at once have come evidence and arguments that cloud if they do not totally obscure the picture of eighteenth-century American history composed by a generation of scholars. These recent critical writings are of course of unequal weight and validity; but few of them are totally unsubstantiated, almost all of them have some point and substance, and taken together they are sufficient to raise serious doubts about the organization of thought within which we have become accustomed to view the eighteenth century. A full reconsideration of the problems raised by these findings and ideas would of course be out of the question here even if sufficient facts were now available. But one might make at least an approach to the task and a first approximation to some answers to the problems by isolating the central premise concerning the relationship between Enlightenment ideas and political experience and reconsidering it in view of the evidence that is now available.

Considering the material at hand, old and new, that bears on this question, one discovers an apparent paradox. There appear to be two primary and contradictory sets of facts. The first and more obvious is the undeniable evidence of the seriousness with which colonial and revolutionary leaders took ideas, and the deliberateness of their efforts during the Revolution to reshape institutions in their pattern. The more we know about these American provincials the clearer it is that among them were remarkably well-informed students of contemporary social and political theory. There never was a dark age that destroyed the cultural contacts between Europe and America. The sources of transmission had been numerous in the seventeenth century; they increased in the eighteenth. There were not only the impersonal agencies of newspapers, books, and pamphlets, but also continuous personal contact through travel and correspondence. Above all, there were Pan-Atlantic, mainly Anglo-American, interest groups that occasioned a continuous flow of fresh information and ideas between Europe and the mainland colonies in America. Of these, the

most important were the English dissenters and their numerous codenominationalists in America. Located perforce on the left of the English political spectrum, acutely alive to ideas of reform that might increase their security in England, they were, for the almost endemically nonconformist colonists, a rich source of political and social theory. It was largely through nonconformist connections, as Caroline Robbins' recent book, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman* (1959), suggests, that the commonwealth radicalism of seventeenth-century England continued to flow to the colonists, blending, ultimately, with other strains of thought to form a common body of advanced theory.

In every colony and in every legislature there were people who knew Locke and Beccaria, Montesquieu and Voltaire; but perhaps more important, there was in every village of every colony someone who knew such transmitters of English nonconformist thought as Watts, Neal, and Burgh; later Priestley and Price—lesser writers, no doubt, but staunch opponents of traditional authority, and they spoke in a familiar idiom. In the bitterly contentious pamphlet literature of mid-eighteenth-century American politics, the most frequently cited authority on matters of principle and theory was not Locke or Montesquieu but *Cato's Letters*, a series of radically libertarian essays written in London in 1720–1723 by two supporters of the dissenting interest, John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon. Through such writers, as well as through the major authors, leading colonists kept contact with a powerful tradition of enlightened thought.

This body of doctrine fell naturally into play in the controversy over the power of the imperial government. For the revolutionary leaders it supplied a common vocabulary and a common pattern of thought, and, when the time came, common principles of political reform. That reform was sought and seriously if unevenly undertaken, there can be no doubt. Institutions were remodeled, laws altered, practices questioned all in accordance with advanced doctrine on the nature of liberty and of the institutions needed to achieve it. The Americans were acutely aware of being innovators, of bringing mankind a long step forward. They believed that they had so far succeeded in their effort to reshape circumstances to conform to enlightened ideas and ideals that they had introduced a new era in human affairs. And they were supported in this by the opinion of informed thinkers in Europe. The contemporary image of the American Revolution at home and abroad was complex; but no one doubted that a revolution that threatened the existing order and portended new social and political arrangements had been made, and made in the name of reason.

Thus, throughout the eighteenth century there were prominent, politically active Americans who were well aware of the development of European thinking, took ideas seriously, and during the Revolution deliberately used them in an effort to reform the institutional basis of society. This much seems obvious. But, paradoxically, and less obviously, it is equally true that many, indeed most, of what these leaders considered to be their greatest achievements during the Revolution—reforms that made America seem to half the world like the veritable heavenly city of the eighteenth-century philosophers—had been matters of fact before they were matters of theory and revolutionary doctrine.

No reform in the entire Revolution appeared of greater importance to Jefferson than the Virginia acts abolishing primogeniture and entail. This action, he later wrote, was part of “a system by which every fibre would be eradicated of antient or future aristocracy; and a foundation laid for a government truly republican.” But primogeniture and entail had never taken deep roots in America, not even in tidewater Virginia. Where land was cheap and easily available such legal restrictions proved to be encumbrances profiting few. Often they tended to threaten rather than secure the survival of the family, as Jefferson himself realized when in 1774 he petitioned the Assembly to break an entail on his wife’s estate on the very practical, untheoretical, and common ground that to do so would be “greatly to their [the petitioners’] Interest and that of their Families.” The legal abolition of primogeniture and entail during and after the Revolution was of little material consequence. Their demise had been effectively decreed years before by the circumstances of life in a wilderness environment.

Similarly, the disestablishment of religion—a major goal of revolutionary reform—was carried out, to the extent that it was, in circumstances so favorable to it that one wonders not how it was done but why it was not done more thoroughly. There is no more eloquent, moving testimony to revolutionary idealism than the Virginia Act for Establishing Religious Freedom: it is the essence of Enlightenment faith. But what did it, and the disestablishment legislation that had preceded it, reform? What had the establishment of religion meant in prerevolutionary Virginia? The Church of England was the state church, but dissent was tolerated well beyond the limits of the English Acts of Toleration. The law required nonconformist organizations to be licensed by the government, but dissenters were not barred from their own worship nor penalized for failure to attend the Anglican communion, and they were commonly exempted from parish taxes. Nonconformity excluded no one from voting and only the very few Catholics from enjoying public

office. And when the itineracy of revivalist preachers led the establishment to contemplate more restrictive measures, the Baptists and Presbyterians advanced to the point of arguing publicly, and pragmatically, that the toleration they had so far enjoyed was an encumbrance, and that the only proper solution was total liberty: in effect, disestablishment.

Virginia was if anything more conservative than most colonies. The legal establishment of the Church of England was in fact no more rigorous in South Carolina and Georgia: it was considerably weaker in North Carolina. It hardly existed at all in the middle colonies (there was of course no vestige of it in Pennsylvania), and where it did, as in four counties of New York, it was either ignored or had become embattled by violent opposition well before the Revolution. And in Massachusetts and Connecticut, where the establishment, being nonconformist according to English law, was legally tenuous to begin with, tolerance in worship and relief from church taxation had been extended to the major dissenting groups early in the century, resulting well before the Revolution in what was, in effect if not in law, a multiple establishment. And this had been further weakened by the splintering effect of the Great Awakening. Almost everywhere the Church of England, the established church of the highest state authority, was embattled and defensive—driven to rely more and more on its missionary arm, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to sustain it against the cohorts of dissent.

None of this had resulted from Enlightenment theory. It had been created by the mundane exigencies of the situation: by the distance that separated Americans from ecclesiastical centers in England and the Continent; by the never-ending need to encourage immigration to the colonies; by the variety, the mere numbers, of religious groups, each by itself a minority, forced to live together; and by the weakness of the coercive powers of the state, its inability to control the social forces within it.

Even more gradual and less contested had been the process by which government in the colonies had become government by the consent of the governed. What has been proved about the franchise in early Massachusetts—that it was open for practically the entire free adult male population—can be proved to a lesser or greater extent for all the colonies. But the extraordinary breadth of the franchise in the American colonies had not resulted from popular demands: there had been no cries for universal manhood suffrage, nor were there popular theories claiming, or even justifying, general participation in politics. Nowhere in eighteenth-century America was there “democracy”—middle-class or otherwise—as we use the term. The main reason for the wide franchise was that the traditional English laws limiting suffrage to freeholders

of certain competences proved in the colonies, where freehold property was almost universal, to be not restrictive but widely permissive.

Representation would seem to be different, since before the Revolution complaints had been voiced against the inequity of its apportioning, especially in the Pennsylvania and North Carolina assemblies. But these complaints were based on an assumption that would have seemed natural and reasonable almost nowhere else in the Western world: the assumption that representation in governing assemblages was a proper and rightful attribute of people as such—of regular units of population, or of populated land—rather than the privilege of particular groups, institutions, or regions. Complaints there were, bitter ones. But they were complaints claiming injury and deprivation, not abstract ideals or unfamiliar desires. They assumed from common experience the normalcy of regular and systematic representation. And how should it have been otherwise? The colonial assemblies had not, like ancient parliaments, grown to satisfy a monarch's need for the support of particular groups or individuals or to protect the interests of a social order, and they had not developed insensibly from precedent to precedent. They had been created at a stroke, and they were in their composition necessarily regular and systematic. Nor did the process, the character, of representation as it was known in the colonies derive from theory. For colonial Americans, representation had none of the symbolic and little of the purely deliberative qualities which, as a result of the revolutionary debates and of Burke's speeches, would become celebrated as "virtual." To the colonists it was direct and actual: it was, most often, a kind of agency, a delegation of powers, to individuals commonly required to be residents of their constituencies and, often, bound by instructions from them—with the result that eighteenth-century American legislatures frequently resembled, in spirit if not otherwise, those "ancient assemblies" of New York, composed, the contemporary historian William Smith wrote, "of plain, illiterate husbandmen, whose views seldom extended farther than to the regulation of highways, the destruction of wolves, wild cats, and foxes, and the advancement of the other little interests of the particular counties which they were chosen to represent." There was no theoretical basis for such direct and actual representation. It had been created and was continuously reinforced by the pressure of local politics in the colonies and by the political circumstances in England, to which the colonists had found it necessary to send closely instructed, paid representatives—agents, so called—from the very beginning.

But franchise and representation are mere mechanisms of government by consent. At its heart lies freedom from executive power, from the independent

action of state authority, and the concentration of power in representative bodies and elected officials. The greatest achievement of the Revolution was of course the repudiation of just such state authority and the transfer of power to popular legislatures. No one will deny that this action was taken in accordance with the highest principles of Enlightenment theory. But the way had been paved by fifty years of grinding factionalism in colonial politics. In the details of prerevolutionary American politics, in the complicated maneuverings of provincial politicians seeking the benefits of government, in the patterns of local patronage and the forms of factional groupings, there lies a history of progressive alienation from the state which resulted, at least by the 1750's, in what Professor Robert Palmer has lucidly described as a revolutionary situation: a condition

. . . in which confidence in the justice or reasonableness of existing authority is undermined; where old loyalties fade, obligations are felt as impositions, law seems arbitrary, and respect for superiors is felt as a form of humiliation; where existing sources of prestige seem undeserved . . . and government is sensed as distant, apart from the governed and not really "representing" them.

Such a situation had developed in mid-eighteenth-century America, not from theories of government or Enlightenment ideas but from the factional opposition that had grown up against a succession of legally powerful, but often cynically self-seeking, inept, and above all politically weak officers of state.

Surrounding all of these circumstances and in various ways controlling them is the fact that that great goal of the European revolutions of the late eighteenth century, equality of status before the law—the abolition of legal privilege—had been reached almost everywhere in the American colonies at least by the early years of the eighteenth century. Analogies between the upper strata of colonial society and the European aristocracies are misleading. Social stratification existed, of course; but the differences between aristocracies in eighteenth-century Europe and in America are more important than the similarities. So far was legal privilege, or even distinction, absent in the colonies that where it existed it was an open sore of festering discontent, leading not merely, as in the case of the Penn family's hereditary claims to tax exemption, to formal protests, but, as in the case of the powers enjoyed by the Hudson River land magnates, to violent opposition as well. More important, the colonial aristocracy, such as it was, had no formal, institutional role in government. No public office or function was legally a prerogative of birth. As there were no social orders in the eyes of the law, so there were no governmental bodies to represent them. The only claim that has been made to the contrary is that, in effect, the governors' Councils constituted political in-



stitutions in the service of the aristocracy. But this claim—of dubious value in any case because of the steadily declining political importance of the Councils in the eighteenth century—cannot be substantiated. It is true that certain families tended to dominate the Councils, but they had less legal claim to places in those bodies than certain royal officials who, though hardly members of an American aristocracy, sat on the Councils by virtue of their office. Councilors could be and were removed by simple political maneuver. Council seats were filled either by appointment or election: when appointive, they were vulnerable to political pressure in England; when elective, to the vagaries of public opinion at home. Thus on the one hand it took William Byrd II three years of maneuvering in London to get himself appointed to the seat on the Virginia Council vacated by his father's death in 1704, and on the other, when in 1766 the Hutchinson faction's control of the Massachusetts Council proved unpopular, it was simply removed wholesale by being voted out of office at the next election. As there were no special privileges, no peculiar group possessions, manners, or attitudes to distinguish councilors from other affluent Americans, so there were no separate political interests expressed in the Councils as such. Councilors joined as directly as others in the factional disputes of the time, associating with groups of all sorts, from minute and transient American opposition parties to massive English-centered political syndicates. A century before the Revolution and not as the result of anti-aristocratic ideas, the colonial aristocracy had become a vaguely defined, fluid group whose power—in no way guaranteed, buttressed, or even recognized in law—was competitively maintained and dependent on continuous, popular support.

Other examples could be given. Were written constitutions felt to be particular guarantees of liberty in enlightened states? Americans had known them in the form of colonial charters and governors' instructions for a century before the Revolution; and after 1763, seeking a basis for their claims against the constitutionality of specific acts of Parliament, they had been driven, out of sheer logical necessity and not out of principle, to generalize that experience. But the point is perhaps clear enough. Major attributes of enlightened politics had developed naturally, spontaneously, early in the history of the American colonies, and they existed as simple matters of social and political fact on the eve of the Revolution.

But if all this is true, what did the Revolution accomplish? Of what real significance were the ideals and ideas? What was the bearing of Enlightenment thought on the political experience of eighteenth-century Americans?

Perhaps this much may be said. What had evolved spontaneously from the demands of place and time was not self-justifying, nor was it universally welcomed. New developments, however gradual, were suspect by some, resisted in part, and confined in their effects. If it was true that the establishment of religion was everywhere weak in the colonies and that in some places it was even difficult to know what was orthodoxy and what was not, it was nevertheless also true that faith in the idea of orthodoxy persisted and with it belief in the propriety of a privileged state religion. If, as a matter of fact, the spread of freehold tenure qualified large populations for voting, it did not create new reasons for using that power nor make the victims of its use content with what, in terms of the dominant ideal of balance in the state, seemed a disproportionate influence of "the democracy." If many colonists came naturally to assume that representation should be direct and actual, growing with the population and bearing some relation to its distribution, crown officials did not, and they had the weight of precedent and theory as well as of authority with them and hence justification for resistance. If state authority was seen increasingly as alien and hostile and was forced to fight for survival within an abrasive, kaleidoscopic factionalism, the traditional idea nevertheless persisted that the common good was somehow defined by the state and that political parties or factions—organized opposition to established government—were seditious. A traditional aristocracy did not in fact exist; but the assumption that superiority was indivisible, that social eminence and political influence had a natural affinity to each other, did. The colonists instinctively conceded to the claims of the well-born and rich to exercise public office, and in this sense politics remained aristocratic. Behavior had changed—had had to change—with the circumstances of everyday life; but habits of mind and the sense of rightness lagged behind. Many felt the changes to be *away from*, not *toward*, something: that they represented deviance; that they lacked, in a word, legitimacy.

This divergence between habits of mind and belief on the one hand and experience and behavior on the other was ended at the Revolution. A rebellion that destroyed the traditional sources of public authority called forth the full range of advanced ideas. Long-settled attitudes were jolted and loosened. The grounds of legitimacy suddenly shifted. What had happened was seen to have been good and proper, steps in the right direction. The glass was half full, not half empty; and to complete the work of fate and nature, further thought must be taken, theories tested, ideas applied. Precisely because so many social and institutional reforms had already taken place in America, the

revolutionary movement there, more than elsewhere, was a matter of doctrine, ideas, and comprehension.

And so it remained. Social change and social conflict of course took place during the revolutionary years; but the essential developments of the period lay elsewhere, in the effort to think through and to apply under the most favorable, permissive, circumstances enlightened ideas of government and society. The problems were many, often unexpected and difficult; some were only gradually perceived. Social and personal privilege, for example, could easily be eliminated—it hardly existed; but what of the impersonal privileges of corporate bodies? Legal orders and ranks within society could be outlawed without creating the slightest tremor, and executive power with equal ease subordinated to the legislative: but how was balance within a polity to be achieved? What were the elements to be balanced and how were they to be separated? It was not even necessary formally to abolish the interest of state as a symbol and determinant of the common good; it was simply dissolved: but what was left to keep clashing factions from tearing a government apart? The problems were pressing, and the efforts to solve them mark the stages of revolutionary history.

In behalf of Enlightenment liberalism the revolutionary leaders undertook to complete, formalize, systematize, and symbolize what previously had been only partially realized, confused, and disputed matters of fact. Enlightenment ideas were not instruments of a particular social group, nor did they destroy a social order. They did not create new social and political forces in America. They released those that had long existed, and vastly increased their power. This completion, this rationalization, this symbolization, this lifting into consciousness and endowing with high moral purpose inchoate, confused elements of social and political change—this was the American Revolution.

# The Later Stuarts (1660-1714): Significant Work of the Last Twenty Years (1939-1959)

ROBERT WALCOTT\*

A STRIKING fact about recent historical work on later seventeenth-century English history is the continuing importance of historians who were already doing major work in the thirties.<sup>1</sup> Work from the pen of G. M. Trevelyan at Cambridge, although not his greatest, was appearing as late as 1949.<sup>2</sup> Norman Sykes, also at Cambridge until very lately, has made more important recent contributions, particularly in the field of ecclesiastical biography, where he has inspired a notable revival.<sup>3</sup> At Oxford two of the leading figures of the thirties are still active. A volume by Sir George Clark on Dutch history appeared in 1947 and was followed two years later by his *Science and Social Welfare in the Age of Newton* (London, 1949). Together they are evidence of Sir George's continued interest in Anglo-Dutch themes and in the fields of intellectual and social history. His colleague David Ogg, whose two volumes on *England in the Reign of Charles II* (2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1934) first appeared over twenty-five years ago, completed the trilogy recently with a third volume that gives a continuous narrative from the Restoration to the accession of Anne.<sup>4</sup> On this side of the Atlantic Godfrey Davies, late of the Huntington Library, takes us back not only to the thirties but to Sir Charles Firth. Two years before his death in 1957 Davies published

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<sup>1</sup> This is one of a series of bibliographical articles sponsored by the Conference on British Studies under the editorship of Elizabeth Chapin Furber. It is concerned primarily with historical works published in the past twenty years. For those already published in the series, see Philip D. Curtin, "The British Empire and Commonwealth in Recent Historiography," *American Historical Review*, LXV (Oct. 1959), 72-91, Maurice Du P. Lee, Jr., "Scottish History Since 1940," *Canadian Historical Review*, XL (Dec. 1959), 319-32, and Henry R. Winkler, "Some Recent Writings on Twentieth-Century Britain," *Journal of Modern History*, XXXII (Mar. 1960), 32-47. This article does not include all works in the field of later Stuart history published during the years 1939-1959; new editions of source material and articles in periodicals were considered beyond its scope. It is confined to extended historical treatments, but does not profess to be exhaustive even in this category.

<sup>2</sup> Namely, G. M. Trevelyan, *An Autobiography and Other Essays* (London, 1949) which, however, includes for the later Stuart period only a brief address on Jonathan Swift and the 1926 Romanes Lecture on "The Two-Party System in English Political History." His *English Social History* (London, 1942), which appeared seven years earlier, includes a chapter on England in the later Stuart period, but it is drawn almost entirely from the earlier *England under Queen Anne* (3 vols., London, 1931-34).

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 360.

<sup>4</sup> David Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III* (Oxford, Eng., 1957).

his *Restoration of Charles II: 1658-1660* (San Marino, Calif., 1955) fulfilling a promise once made to Firth that he would carry on Firth's continuation of Gardiner down to 1660.<sup>5</sup> It is good news that Davies' useful *Bibliography of British History: Stuart Period, 1603-1714* (Oxford, Eng., 1928), is to be revised, brought up to date, and reissued.

No native American enjoyed as important a place in later Stuart studies as Davies, but a number of British writers prominent in the thirties were still doing significant work in the fifties. At Glasgow Professor Andrew Browning, whose Stanhope essay on Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, appeared many years ago, in 1951 completed the most solid recent biography of a later Stuart figure, his three-volume study of his first love, Danby.<sup>6</sup> Among nonacademic historians, Sir Winston Churchill found time during the thirties to do a massive biography of his ancestor the Duke of Marlborough, and his recent *History of the English-Speaking Peoples* (3 vols., New York and London, 1956-57) gives considerable space to the later Stuarts.<sup>7</sup> There is finally Esmond S. De Beer, "the uncrowned king of 17th century historical research,"<sup>8</sup> whose edition of John Evelyn's *Diary* (6 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1955) is an enormous labor of devoted and meticulous scholarship. Unfortunately, the time and energy given to this project have meant the abandonment of De Beer's promising work on Restoration parliamentary politics.<sup>9</sup>

The considerable proportion of major work in later Stuart history accounted for by the foregoing suggests not so much the mature productivity of these historians as a rather surprising paucity of work by younger scholars, at least in the field of general political history. For example, when Sir George Clark brought out a new edition of *The Later Stuarts*, and David Ogg, a second edition of *England in the Reign of Charles II* (2 vols., London, 1955), in neither case despite the lapse of over twenty years was it necessary to make any major modifications.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, Ogg's third volume, on the reigns of

<sup>5</sup> *The Restoration of Charles II*, of course, falls just outside the boundaries of the field covered in this essay. Davies' work in the later Stuart period proper was in the form of articles, many of them in the *Huntington Library Quarterly*. None of them is sufficiently extensive to be included in this article.

<sup>6</sup> Andrew Browning, *Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds, 1632-1712* (3 vols., Glasgow, 1944-51), and see below, p. 354.

<sup>7</sup> The last part of Volume II and the first part of Volume III give considerable space to the later Stuarts, but students of that period will read the work more because Churchill wrote it than for any new insights or reinterpretation.

<sup>8</sup> Review of F. C. Turner's *James II*, in *Times Literary Supplement*, Aug. 21, 1948.

<sup>9</sup> The only article to appear within the last twenty years is De Beer's "The House of Lords in the Parliament of 1680," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XX (Nov. 1943), 22-37.

<sup>10</sup> Ogg did not find it necessary to make any changes. Browning, reviewing the revised edition of Clark's *The Later Stuarts*, mentions "substantial modifications," but a careful comparison shows that few of the changes were major. The new edition notes forty-two previously unnoticed works: twenty new titles are listed in the bibliography; twelve additional monographs

James II and William III, could have appeared twenty years ago as far as any essentially new interpretation of political developments is concerned. On two specific constitutional matters—the legality of James II's ecclesiastical commission and the significance of the coronation oath of 1689—there are some interesting new verdicts, and the sections on social and economic conditions reflect the useful recent work being done in these fields. However, on basic questions of interpretation, such as the character of James II or of William III or the ultimate nature and significance of the Revolution of 1688, the treatment is unflinchingly orthodox. The volume's chief originality lies in the analytical essays, particularly those on "Freehold and Status" (in Chapter III), which stand apart from the main narrative.

The same essential orthodoxy appears in the chief political biographies published during the past twenty years. Browning's *Danby*, for all its three volumes, is a single-volume biography, Volumes II and III consisting respectively of a selection of Danby's correspondence and of materials (chiefly lists of members of Parliament with contemporary annotations) for the thorough analysis of party politics that Browning never really completed. Whether biography is the form of historical writing best calculated to advance our knowledge of the period is doubtful. Special investigation of exactly how Danby put together and managed a new "Court Party" and how effective he was as a finance minister are what is needed. Browning presumably found that the exigencies of a narrative treatment prevented any definitive analysis of either problem. Browning's *Danby* is the best biography we have of that nobleman and a very useful work, but it cannot take the place of the thorough spadework still needed on late seventeenth-century parliamentary history and public finance.

Biography remains the most popular form of historical writing, but for the later Stuart period most of the biographical work has unfortunately been unimportant. Besides Browning's *Danby* there have been only two biographies of any significance: Francis C. Turner's *James II* (London, 1948) and John P. Kenyon's *Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, 1641-1702* (London, 1958). The remainder of the better biographies have been pedestrian treatments of major figures or adequate accounts of distinctly minor ones. Such important political personalities as John Lord Somers, Charles Montagu Lord

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and nine articles are mentioned in footnotes. Of the textual changes only two go beyond the change of a word, a phrase, or at most a sentence: namely, the addition of a new paragraph and other lesser changes to take account of Robert S. Boshier's work on the Restoration religious settlement (see below); and the same, to take account of my 1941 essay on party politics (see below).

Halifax, Sidney Earl Godolphin, Robert Harley, and Henry St. John still lack adequate modern treatment.

Biographies of monarchs form a somewhat specialized class, since they are difficult to dissociate from histories of their reign. In this respect Turner's *James II* compares unfavorably with Ogg's latest volume. Turner is no more sympathetic with James and in his general interpretation comes to much the same conclusions, but he seems to lack the indispensable foundation of solid historical knowledge. He even perpetuates, with no adequate documentation, the story that in the crisis of 1688 James's virtual paralysis of will and action was due to a long history of syphilis. Hester W. Chapman's biography of James's daughter Mary<sup>11</sup> is less bulky and pretentious, but again most of her conclusions are essentially orthodox. The judgment on Mary is of course favorable. She is unique among the later Stuarts in escaping the general condemnation of recent writers.

This was not always so. In the thirties Arthur Bryant led a movement to rehabilitate Charles II, a movement aided, curiously enough, by William A. Shaw, the learned editor of the *Calendar of Treasury Books*. Not content simply to edit the documents, in a series of long prefaces Shaw delivered some remarkable obiter dicta.<sup>12</sup> A man of strong opinions, he had a pronounced distaste for the niggardliness of Stuart Parliaments, which he believed to have intentionally starved the Restoration government and to have been guilty of complete financial incompetence. In his clever *Charles II* (London and New York, 1931) Bryant built on this foundation to construct a new Charles II, sympathetic, able, a genius at foreign relations, in contrast with a bumbling legislature. This work has recently been reissued. Sir Arthur's other work during the past twenty years has lain outside the Stuart period.

Bryant's justification of the later Stuarts has been continued by disciples like Cyril Hughes Hartmann. Hartmann's *The King My Brother* (London, 1954) relies on Charles II's sympathetic relationship with his favorite sister, the Duchess of Orleans, for its favorable view of the King, and on Hartmann's earlier works for its documentation. *The King's Friend: A Life of Charles Berkeley, Viscount Fitzhardinge, Earl of Falmouth (1630-1665)* (London, 1951), makes use of fragmentary Berkeley papers for the rehabilitation of an essentially minor figure. Hartmann's work is more respectable than the

<sup>11</sup> Hester W. Chapman, *Mary II, Queen of England* (London, 1953). Mrs. Chapman has also done biographies of Buckingham (*Great Villiers: A Study of George Villiers Second Duke of Buckingham, 1628-1687* [London, 1949]) and of the young Duke of Gloucester, who died at eleven (*Queen Anne's Son: A Memoir of William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, 1689-1700* [London, 1954]). Neither is important.

<sup>12</sup> William A. Shaw's most recent preface was sent to the press in 1940 and appeared posthumously in 1952 in *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1685-, Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office* (25 vols., London, 1904- ), XXV, January-December, 1711, Pt. 1.



recent work of such a familiar Stuart champion as Sir Charles Petrie. Petrie's *The Marshal Duke of Berwick* (London, 1953) does little more than paraphrase Berwick's own memoirs,<sup>13</sup> and in similar fashion Lord Cardigan's *Life and Loyalties of Thomas Bruce: A Biography of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury and Elgin, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King Charles II and to King James II, 1656-1741* (London, 1951), does not go far beyond the memoirs of the author's ancestor, the Jacobite Earl of Ailesbury. Most students would prefer to read the original memoirs in both cases.<sup>14</sup>

John P. Kenyon's recent life of the second Earl of Sunderland shows that biography can make a real contribution. A major figure during three reigns, Spencer was involved under William III in some tricky maneuverings with party groups, which Kenyon takes great pains to elucidate.<sup>15</sup> The chapters on this topic are overburdened with detail and a bit hard to follow, but Kenyon makes good use of hitherto unused letters between Sunderland and William's Dutch favorite, the Earl of Portland. The picture of Sunderland and his countess is sharply etched, and our knowledge of the man and his period is advanced; this is a great deal to have accomplished.

Sunderland has been more fortunate in his biographer than another of the "three chits" of James II's reign. The most recent life of Godolphin is a disappointment. In *Godolphin: His Life and Times* (London, 1952) Sir Tresham Lever includes enough new material on Godolphin's family (culled from the Blenheim MSS. and chiefly about the family after Godolphin's death) to fill an article, but there is little else that is new. Lever relies almost entirely on Churchill's *Marlborough* for Godolphin's politics, and of his important work in public finance there is nothing. Similarly, Harford Montgomery Hyde's *Judge Jeffreys* (London, 1940) provides some new information on the personal side and is a better life than any previous one, but, as De Beer has said, that is "not much of a compliment."<sup>16</sup> Lord Wharton of the Junto was sketched in John Carswell's *The Old Cause: Three Biographical Sketches of Whiggism* (London, 1954) which does a little to fill the gap on Junto biography, but Charles H. Collins Baker and Muriel I. Baker missed an

<sup>13</sup> Petrie's volume on the Jacobite movement is discussed below, p. 359.

<sup>14</sup> Other recent biographies rate only a footnote. Maurice Ashley's *John Wildman, Plotter and Postmaster* (London, 1947) is the poorest of his works. It is nonetheless better than the following: Jane Lane, *Titus Oates: The First Biography* (London, 1949); Dorothy Middleton, *The Life of Charles, 2nd Earl of Middleton, 1680-1719* (London, 1957); and Cecil Price, *Cold Caleb: The Scandalous Life of Ford Grey, 1st Earl of Tankerville, 1655-1701* (London, 1956), which is not as bad as its title.

<sup>15</sup> Reference should also be made to Kenyon's detailed articles: "The Earl of Sunderland and the Revolution of 1688," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, XI (No. 3, 1955), 272-96, and "The Earl of Sunderland and the King's Administration, 1693-95," *English Historical Review*, LXXI (Oct. 1956), 576-602.

<sup>16</sup> In a review in *History*, XXVI (Sept. 1941), 157.

opportunity in their *Life and Circumstances of James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos, Patron of the Liberal Arts* (Oxford, Eng., 1949). A long series of accounts and letters dating from Brydges' tenure of the Pay Office during the War of the Spanish Succession still awaits the efforts of an intelligent and persistent investigator to yield an explanation of the enormous wealth accumulated by Brydges and some of his successors in that office. Instead, the Bakers provide a rather thin diet of social history.

Lack of solid background in political history seems to be true of other biographers who have tried to do justice to the political activities of what to them were essentially literary figures. Homer E. Woodbridge's *Sir William Temple: The Man and His Work* (New York, 1940) is better on Temple's writings than on his public and diplomatic career; Charles K. Eves's *Matthew Prior: Poet and Diplomatist* (New York, 1939) does more justice to Prior's verse than to his political and diplomatic activities, the importance of which Eves greatly exaggerates; while John R. Moore's *Daniel Defoe, Citizen of the Modern World* (Chicago, 1958), though done by a lifelong student of Defoe's writings, gives a highly inflated estimate of his standing in the world of politics, picturing him as William III's trusted friend and political mentor.

In the field of political biography there is finally John H. Plumb's *Robert Walpole: The Making of a Statesman* (London, 1956), the first of several projected volumes on Walpole. Plumb, Tutor of Christ's College, Cambridge, has directed some fine theses in the later Stuart period (notably Kenyon's study of Sunderland), continuing the work of Trevelyan, of whom Plumb is a disciple. As befits a follower of Trevelyan, Plumb includes in his biography a long section on social history. The volume deals chiefly with the period from 1714 to 1722, but it also covers Walpole's apprenticeship under Queen Anne. Here Plumb has been able to add very little to Archdeacon William Coxe's account, at least on the public side. The work's chief merits are its readability and some new, mostly negative verdicts on Walpole's rise to power at the time of the Bubble.

Turning to the monographic material on later Stuart political history, one is struck by the concentration on Anglo-Dutch themes, naturally pivoting on William III. There have been four Dutch studies in this area and nearly as many English and American. The most important Dutch work has been the publication of Marlborough's correspondence with the Pensionary Anthony Heinsius.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *The Correspondence of John Churchill and Anthony Heinsius, 1701–1711*, ed. Bert Van't Hoff (The Hague, 1951). The Dutch monographs are Pieter Geyl, *Oranje en Stuart, 1641–1672*

The most ambitious attempt at reinterpretation in English is Lucile Pinkham's *William III and the Respectable Revolution: The Part Played by William of Orange in the Revolution of 1688* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954). Miss Pinkham, a student of Wilbur C. Abbott, has turned a fresh eye on the familiar sources and has seen there justification for a radical revision of the "old myths." William III, she finds, came to England in 1688 not to preserve English liberties and Protestantism (many have doubted this) or even "to save Holland and Europe from the aggression of Louis XIV" (the usual view), but simply because he was ambitious for the English throne and had been for many years. There is much to be said for this point, but Miss Pinkham unfortunately feels that she must revise many other verdicts. She allows no public spirit to the English governing class; she vigorously takes up the cudgels for James II (who she feels would have settled his difficulties with his subjects had it not been for William's intervention); and her tone tends to be shrill, putting the reader off so that he is apt to lose sight of some worthwhile questioning of the accepted canons.<sup>18</sup>

At the opposite extreme is Kenneth H. D. Haley's *William of Orange and the English Opposition, 1672-1674* (Oxford, Eng., 1953),<sup>19</sup> which draws on the Dutch archives to describe the activities of William's principal agent in England during the 1670's. Though an interesting story in itself, it lacks general significance. The English opposition appears only dimly, and William's "secret weapon" turns out to be pamphlets, something of an anticlimax for the reader who hoped for some substantiation of the persistent rumors of Dutch gold going to leading Country politicians. The year 1672, where Haley begins, is where Charles H. Wilson breaks off in *Profit and Power: A Study of England and the Dutch Wars* (London, 1957), a stimulating synthesis of the economic, diplomatic, and political elements in Anglo-Dutch relations. The remaining monographs in the Anglo-Dutch field are Douglas Coombs's *The Conduct of the Dutch: British Opinion and the Dutch Alliance During the War of the Spanish Succession* (The Hague, 1958), and Rosalie L. Colie's *Light and Enlightenment: A Study of the Cambridge Platonists and the Dutch Arminians* (Cambridge, Eng., 1957), an essay in intellectual history.<sup>20</sup>

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(Utrecht, 1939); Augustus J. Veenendaal, *Het Engels-Nederlands Condominium in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de Spaanse Successieoorlog* (Utrecht, 1945); and Johanna K. Ouden-dijk, *Willem III Stadhouder van Holland, Koning van Engeland* (Amsterdam, 1954).

<sup>18</sup> I think this last fact explains why the reviewers, with the exception of Kenneth H. D. Haley in the *English Historical Review*, LXX (Apr. 1955), 330, generally failed to do the book justice.

<sup>19</sup> Reference should also be made to Haley's article, "The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677," *English Historical Review*, LXXIII (Oct. 1958), 614-48.

<sup>20</sup> Miss Colie's work is included here as an example of the strong Dutch emphasis rather than in the discussion of intellectual history where it might seem more properly to belong.

Aside from the Anglo-Dutch theme, there have been a half dozen monographs on specifically political topics. William R. Emerson's *Monmouth's Rebellion* (New Haven, Conn., 1951) attempts in painstaking fashion to show (with little success) that Monmouth might well have been successful. Abbie T. Scudi's *The Sacheverell Affair* (New York, 1939) is a routine study useful chiefly for its bibliography. Sir Charles Petrie's *The Jacobite Movement: The First Phase, 1699–1716* (London, 1948), is marred by many inaccuracies. Robert Walcott's application of the so-called "Namier method" to the party politics of the reigns of William III and Anne, first sketched in an essay that appeared in 1941,<sup>21</sup> was presented more elaborately in *English Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., and Oxford, Eng., 1956).

In this last work it was suggested that the Whig versus Tory interpretation of parliamentary politics needed to be revised to take account of distinct Court and Country groups, which with the more familiar historic parties would constitute a four-way party framework. It was suggested, further, that within the traditional parties there were separate "connections" (three Tory and two Whig), which should also be taken into account. Case studies of William III's last Parliament, of the election of 1702, and of the parliamentary session of 1707–1708 were used to illustrate this multiparty hypothesis.

More restricted geographically, though less so chronologically, Millicent B. Rex's *University Representation in England, 1604–1690* (London, 1954), draws on the archives of both universities to illuminate a previously obscure corridor of the English representative system—one that was closed in 1948. About a third of the book deals with the period after 1660, and the treatment is as much political as constitutional. It may be classed with recent works in constitutional and administrative history. These include, among general works, Betty Kemp's *King and Commons 1660–1832* (London, 1957). Miss Kemp's brief study is a synthesis of recent work on the developing relations between monarch and legislature, and her interpretation owes much to Sir Lewis Namier.

Since administrative history is to be the subject of a separate bibliographical essay, recent work in that field will receive no extended discussion here, but five monographs in the field should at least be listed. Peter Fraser's *The Intelligence of the Secretaries and Their Monopoly of Licensed News, 1660–1688* (Cambridge, Eng., 1956), explains in detail the mechanism in the Sec-

<sup>21</sup> In *Essays in Modern English History in Honor of Wilbur Cortez Abbott* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), 81–132. Two other essays in this volume on the Stuart period should be mentioned: Ethyn Williams Kirby's "The Reconcilers and the Restoration, 1660–1662," and Dorothy K. Clark's "A Restoration Banking House."

retary's office for the gathering and dissemination of news and illuminates the relationship of government to the emerging popular press.<sup>22</sup> More strictly administrative are Stephen B. Baxter's *Development of the Treasury, 1660-1702* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), William R. Ward's *English Land Tax in the 18th Century* (Oxford, Eng., 1953), and Orlando C. Williams' *Clerical Organization of the House of Commons, 1661-1850* (Oxford, Eng., 1954).<sup>23</sup> Archibald P. Thornton's fine monograph on *West India Policy under the Restoration* (Oxford, Eng., 1956) is partly administrative, partly imperial or colonial history.

Of political history on the local level there has been very little in the past twenty years. Recent volumes of the *Victoria County History* have included sections on political and parliamentary history that are useful,<sup>24</sup> but most of the work in local history has been topographical or has consisted of editions of local records. Specifically political contributions such as Philip Styles's excellent "The Corporation of Bewdley under the Later Stuarts" (*University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, I [No. 1, 1947], 92-133) are quite exceptional.<sup>25</sup>

Unlike political, ecclesiastical history has seen considerable activity during the past two decades. In part this has been owing to Sykes. His recent two-volume biography of Archbishop Wake<sup>26</sup> is the latest and most distinguished in a gallery of episcopal portraits of the later Stuart and early Hanoverian periods, the product of a fruitful collaboration between the Church Historical Society and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge on the one hand, and a group of able clerical biographers on the other. Arthur Tindal Hart's *Life and Times of John Sharp: Archbishop of York* (London, 1949)<sup>27</sup> and his *William Lloyd, 1627-1717* (London, 1952), Edward F. Carpenter's *Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury: His Life and Times* (London,

<sup>22</sup> Fraser goes much deeper than does Frederick S. Siebert in *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776* (Urbana, Ill., 1952). See also John Johnson and Strickland Gibson, *Print and Privilege at Oxford to the Year 1700* (Oxford, Eng., 1946) for the history of the Oxford Press's privileged exemption from the printing monopoly of the Stationers' Company.

<sup>23</sup> An article in this field that deserves mention is Edward Hughes's "The English Stamp Duties, 1664-1764," *English Historical Review*, LVI (Apr. 1941), 234-64.

<sup>24</sup> Namely, *Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely* (4 vols., London, 1938-59), II-III, *Leicestershire* (4 vols., London, 1907, 1955-58), III-IV, *Oxfordshire* (I-III, V-VI, London, 1907, 1954), I, III, and *Wiltshire* (I-V, VII, London, 1953, 1957), V.

<sup>25</sup> Reddaway's *Rebuilding of London* and Darby's *Draining of the Fens*, which can both be classed as local history, are included below (p. 367) under social and economic history, since that is their chief emphasis.

<sup>26</sup> Norman Sykes, *William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1657-1737* (2 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1957).

<sup>27</sup> All of the biographies in this and the following paragraph, except those of F. G. James and Carpenter's *Protestant Bishop*, were published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the Church Historical Society, London.

1948) and the more recent *The Protestant Bishop: Being the Life of Henry Compton, 1632–1713, Bishop of London* (London, 1956), and Gareth V. Bennett's *White Kennett, 1660–1728, Bishop of Peterborough: A Study in the Political and Ecclesiastical History of the Early Eighteenth Century* (London, 1957) together with Sykes's work have corrected the old view of a secular-minded, worldly episcopate, which neglected its episcopal duties. On the contrary, these men were faithful, hard-working administrators, and many of them were notable scholars as well. Naturally they were involved in politics, and to the secular historian the most interesting sections of these biographies are usually those on politics.

Not all the recent biographies of bishops are by English clergymen. Francis G. James's *North Country Bishop: A Biography of William Nicolson* (New Haven, Conn., 1956), the work of an American scholar, compares very favorably with those of Hart and Carpenter. It is superior to Charles E. Whiting's *Nathaniel Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham (1674–1721) and His Diocese* (London, 1940), which is adequate on the diocese and its palatine jurisdiction, but which in its uncritical attempt to rehabilitate Crewe is marked by some notable historical inaccuracies and omissions. Henry P. Thompson's *Thomas Bray* (London, 1954) does not deal with a bishop, but is a good short account of one of the founders of the SPCK.

Besides his life of Wake, Sykes has published a number of lectures on nonbiographical subjects<sup>28</sup> and has directed some very able monographs. The most important of these is Robert S. Bosher's *The Making of the Restoration Settlement: The Influence of the Laudians, 1649–1662* (London, 1951). An American scholar at General Theological Seminary, Bosher shows convincingly that the uncompromising nature of the religious (in contrast to the political) restoration was due to the efforts of a highly organized and capably led group of Laudians (including George Morley, Gilbert Sheldon, and John Cosin), who completely outmaneuvered the Presbyterians.

Sykes's interest in the relations between the English and continental "reformed churches" finds echoes in Joseph Minton Batten's *John Dury, Advocate of Christian Reunion* (London, 1944) and George H. Turnbull's *Hartlib, Dury, and Comnenius: Gleanings from Hartlib's Papers* (London, 1947), which focus chiefly on the years just prior to 1660. For the later period George Every's *The High Church Party, 1688–1718* (London, 1956), treats such im-

<sup>28</sup> Namely, *The Study of Ecclesiastical History* (Cambridge, Eng., 1954), *The Church of England and Non-Episcopal Churches in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Eng., 1948), *Daniel Ernst Jablonski and the Church of England* (Cambridge, Eng., 1950), *Old Priest and New Presbyterian* (Cambridge, Eng., 1956), and *From Sheldon to Secker: Aspects of English Church History, 1660–1768* (Cambridge, Eng., 1959).



portant issues as comprehension, Convocation, and occasional conformity in terms of principles rather than politics; Dudley W. R. Bahlman's *Moral Revolution of 1688* (New Haven, Conn., 1957) discusses the societies for the reformation of manners; while Alan Savidge deals with *The Foundation and Early Years of Queen Anne's Bounty* (London, 1955), mostly for the years after 1714.

In Quaker historiography, three books require mention. Henry J. Cadbury's long introduction to his edition of *George Fox's Book of Miracles* (Cambridge, Eng., 1948) relates Quaker theology to medicine and is more "social history" than Arnold Lloyd's *Quaker Social History, 1669-1738* (London, 1950), which deals chiefly with the growth of Quaker organization as reflected in Fox's papers. Isabel Ross's *Margaret Fell, Mother of Quakerism* (London and New York, 1949), a sound biography of Fox's wife, is also virtually a history of the Society of Friends during the last half of the seventeenth century.

On Restoration Puritanism there have been a number of studies in recent years. Harry G. Plum's *Restoration Puritanism: A Study of the Growth of English Liberty* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1943) is brief and inaccurate. Gerald R. Cragg, a Canadian scholar who has worked with Sykes, has done two studies: *From Puritanism to the Age of Reason: A Study of Changes in Religious Thought within the Church of England, 1660 to 1700* (Cambridge, Eng., 1950), and *Puritanism in the Period of the Great Persecution, 1660-1688* (Cambridge, Eng., 1957). The latter retells chiefly from Nonconformist sources the familiar story of the "sufferings of the clergy" and of their flocks, and while eloquent does not add materially to Calamy. The earlier work lies less in the field of ecclesiastical than of intellectual history. It is an interpretation of that basic change in the climate of opinion which divides the England of Milton and Bunyan from that of Newton and Locke.

It is not easy to distinguish the history of religion from the history of ideas, since the two obviously overlap. In any case, much of the activity in the field of later Stuart intellectual history during the past two decades has been concerned with the relation between religion and the "new science." The inspiration for many of these treatments comes from three influential prewar books: Edwin A. Burt's *The Metaphysics of Sir Isaac Newton: An Essay on the Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Science* (London, 1925), Basil Willey's *Seventeenth-Century Background: Studies in the Thought of the Age in Relation to Poetry and Religion* (London, 1935), and Arthur O. Lovejoy's *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (London, 1936). The two most stimulating recent studies of "the cultural revolution of



the seventeenth century” are Samuel L. Bethell’s essay of that title (London, 1951) and Richard S. Westfall’s *Science and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, Conn., 1958). The two chapters on the later Stuart period in Meyrick H. Carré’s *Phases of Thought in England* (Oxford, Eng., 1949) are a much more pedestrian synthesis.

On the philosophical side of the cultural revolution the Cambridge Platonists continue to receive attention. Ernst Cassirer’s fine 1932 German study appeared in English translation in 1953; John A. Passmore’s *Ralph Cudworth: An Interpretation* (Cambridge, Eng., 1951) was published two years earlier; while Miss Colie’s study of the Cambridge Platonists and the Dutch Arminians has already been noticed.<sup>29</sup> On the religious side is Richard B. Schlatter’s *Social Ideas of Religious Leaders, 1660–1688* (Oxford, Eng., 1940), which emphasizes the low-keyed social morality advocated both by the Anglican and Nonconformist clergy, signaling the shift away from Calvinist soul searching toward the comfortably “reasonable” ethical religion of the early eighteenth century.<sup>30</sup> How radical “reasonable Christianity” could become is suggested in Herbert McLachlan’s *Religious Opinions of Milton, Locke, and Newton* (Manchester, Eng., 1941) and his son H. John McLachlan’s *Socinianism in 17th-Century England* (Oxford, Eng., 1951). As Unitarians, the McLachlans have little difficulty in showing that Locke and Newton (Milton is another matter) would certainly be classed as “Unitarians” today, as would many of their contemporaries like Thomas Firmin, who managed to propagate Socinian doctrines without ever leaving the Church of England.

On the scientific side of the cultural revolution, Locke, Newton, and Newton’s predecessors and associates have received much attention. Marie Boas’ *Robert Boyle and Seventeenth-Century Chemistry* (Cambridge, Eng., 1958) is a far more original work than Louis T. More’s *The Life and Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle* (London and New York, 1944). Miss Boas shows that Boyle’s achievement in sweeping aside Aristotelian debris and thus clearing the way for Lavoisier and the other notable eighteenth-century chemists was far greater than previously recognized; nor was seventeenth-century chemistry generally “backward” as compared to the physics and astronomy of the same period. Margaret ‘Espinasse’s *Robert Hooke* (Berkeley, Calif., and London, 1956) is a more polemical work. She is naturally determined to buttress Hooke’s reputation, and this leads her to some rather doubtful criticism of Newton (who quarreled violently with Hooke). It is a

<sup>29</sup> See above.

<sup>30</sup> George N. Clark’s *Science and Social Welfare in the Age of Newton* (London, 1949) places the same emphasis on the social side of intellectual history, but this emphasis has been uncommon in recent years.

stimulating book, more so than either of Edward N. Da C. Andrade's brief accounts of Newton.<sup>31</sup>

Newton, Hooke, and Boyle were all closely connected with the Royal Society, the origins of which receive fresh treatment by Miss Rosemary H. Syfret in "The Origins of the Royal Society" (in *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, V [Apr. 1948], 75-137). She finds an interesting connection with Hartlib and the interchurch movement of the later interregnum. A relatively minor member of the society is noticed in Montague F. Ashley Montagu's *Edward Tyson, M.D., F.R.S., 1650-1708, and the Rise of Human and Comparative Anatomy in England* (Philadelphia, 1943). A physician and naturalist, Tyson was a less important figure than the great Cambridge naturalist, John Ray, to whom the former Master of Christ's College has devoted a scholarly labor of love.<sup>32</sup>

Interest in the history of science and of scientists has been paralleled by an upsurge of interest in Locke, aided by the deposit in Bodley's Library of the great Lovelace Collection of the philosopher's letters and papers.<sup>33</sup> Two of the recent Locke studies are independent of this new material. Willmoor Kendall's *John Locke and the Doctrine of Majority Rule* (Urbana, Ill., 1941) is a clever attempt to revise the orthodox view of Locke as a father of individualism, making him instead a precursor of Rousseau in establishing the metaphysical foundations for the all-powerful state of the future. John W. Gough, in *John Locke's Political Philosophy: Eight Studies* (London, 1950), a series of essays written considerably earlier than the date of publication, is at pains to refute Kendall and to re-establish the conventional interpretation.

Maurice Cranston's *John Locke: A Biography* (London, 1957) is the most substantial work based on material in the Lovelace Collection. As straight biography, this life may be called "definitive." On a number of points previous ideas must now definitely be revised. No longer, for example, can it be said that the *Treatises on Civil Government* were "written to justify the Glorious Revolution." Cranston shows that they were actually composed during the height of the Exclusion controversy to justify the "attempted Whig revolution" and only afterward were published to buttress the successful Revolution of 1688. Cranston also demonstrates that Locke's influence at the Board of Trade was much greater than is generally realized.

<sup>31</sup> The most original recent comments on Newton are by John Maynard Keynes in *Essays in Biography*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (new ed., London, 1951), 310-23. Keynes was instrumental in acquiring for Cambridge the great mass of Newton's mathematical, religious, and "magical" papers known as the Portsmouth Collection.

<sup>32</sup> Charles E. Raven, *John Ray, Naturalist, His Life and Works* (Cambridge, Eng., 1942).

<sup>33</sup> Wolfgang Von Leyden, who catalogued it, describes the collection in his introduction to *John Locke: Essays on the Law of Nature* (Oxford, Eng., 1954), 1-10.

On this last point and on Locke's relations with his patron, Lord Shaftesbury, Cranston needs to be corrected and supplemented by Peter Laslett's work. From a defense of Sir Robert Filmer<sup>34</sup> (Locke's target in the *First Treatise*), Laslett has moved on to studies of Locke's political career, which are more detailed and informative than the material in Cranston.<sup>35</sup> Nor is Cranston adequate on Locke's thought. For this aspect of Locke's career one should take into account such recent work as Daniel J. O'Connor's *John Locke* (London and Baltimore, 1952), Von Leyden's study of Locke's early work on natural law,<sup>36</sup> and John W. Yolton's *John Locke and the Way of Ideas* (Oxford, Eng., 1956). The last emphasizes in interesting fashion the essential radicalism of Locke's philosophical doctrines in the *Essay*, showing how violent was the contemporary reaction to Locke's skepticism. Theologians and moralists had no doubt that Locke's ideas were ultimately subversive of the traditional religion—and who can say they were wrong?

Aside from the work on Locke<sup>37</sup> there has been little on the political thought of the later Stuart period. John Bowle's lively *Hobbes and His Critics: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Constitutionalism* (London, 1951)<sup>38</sup> and A. H. MacLean's very concise "George Lawson and John Locke" (*Cambridge Historical Journal*, IX [No. 1, 1947], 69–77) deal with some of Locke's predecessors primarily in terms of their relationship to him. Locke figures also in Caroline Robbins' interesting *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealth Man: Studies in the Transmission, Development, and Circumstance of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II until the War with the Thirteen Colonies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), a study of the transmission of left-wing Whiggism from the interregnum trio of John Milton, James Harrington, and Algernon Sidney<sup>39</sup> to the generation of the American Revolution. This study's principal emphasis is on Robert Molesworth and his group of friends and disciples in England, Ireland, and Scotland. Edward C.

<sup>34</sup> In his introduction to the Blackwell edition of *Patriarcha and Other Political Works of Sir Robert Filmer* (Oxford, Eng., 1949).

<sup>35</sup> In addition to lesser articles in *History Today* and *The Listener*, these include "Locke and the First Earl of Shaftesbury," *Mind*, LXI (Jan. 1952), 91–92, "The English Revolution and Locke's *Two Treatises on Government*," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, XII (No. 1, 1956), 40–55, and "John Locke, the Great Recoinage and the Origins of the Board of Trade, 1695–98," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIV (July 1957), 370–402.

<sup>36</sup> Von Leyden, *John Locke*.

<sup>37</sup> To complete the list of recent work on Locke, one should include Gabriel Bonno, *Les relations intellectuelles de Locke avec la France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1955) and John Lough's *Locke's Travels in France, 1675–1679* (Cambridge, Eng., 1953).

<sup>38</sup> Although studies of Hobbes fall outside the limits of this essay, Bowle's work is included because it deals primarily with later criticism of that philosopher.

<sup>39</sup> See also Zera S. Fink's *The Classical Republicans: An Essay in the Recovery of a Pattern of Thought in Seventeenth Century England* (Evanston, Ill., 1945), most of which is devoted to the interregnum work of Milton and Harrington, but which also includes some later material on Sidney and Moyle.

O. Beatty's *William Penn as a Social Philosopher* (New York, 1939) is a less important essay.

Scholarship, literature, and the arts are other fields of intellectual activity during the period of the later Stuarts that have come in for treatment in the last twenty years. David C. Douglas' *English Scholars* (London, 1939) is an attractive work, being at once a history of later seventeenth-century medieval scholarship and a lively group biography of the remarkable scholars from William Dugdale to Thomas Madox who made that period a memorable one. In literary history the most important publication has been Bonamy Dobrée's *English Literature in the Early Eighteenth Century, 1700-1740* (Vol. VII of *The Oxford History of English Literature* [Oxford, Eng., 1959]).<sup>40</sup> The field of literature is too large, and much of the work in it is of too specialized a nature, to be dealt with here except briefly. Useful general treatments are George W. Sherburn's section on the Restoration and eighteenth-century literature in *A Literary History of England* (ed. Albert C. Baugh [New York, 1948]) and John E. Butt's *The Augustan Age* (London, 1950).

Of literary biographies the best recent example is Peter Smithers' *Life of Joseph Addison* (Oxford, Eng., 1954), a scholarly and thorough treatment. Lives of Temple, Prior, and Defoe have already been discussed.<sup>41</sup> Two attractive but relatively minor figures who have come in for recent discussion are John Evelyn and John Aubrey. Walter G. Hiscock has tried "to remove the halo" and "reveal the real John Evelyn" in *John Evelyn and Mrs. Godolphin* (London, 1951) and *John Evelyn and His Family Circle* (London, 1955). Taken with De Beer's new edition of the *Diary*, this amounts to an Evelyn "movement." Anthony Powell, the novelist, has accompanied his attractive new edition of *Aubrey's "Brief Lives" and Other Selected Writings* (London, 1949) with a pleasant biography of *John Aubrey and His Friends* (London, 1948).

The art and architecture of the later Stuart period have received recent treatment both in the Oxford and Pelican Histories of English Art. Margaret D. Whinney and Oliver Miller, in *English Art, 1625-1714* (Vol. VIII of *The Oxford History of English Art* [Oxford, Eng., 1957]) devote too much space perhaps to Christopher Wren and concentrate rather heavily on architecture, but, supplemented by the relevant sections of Ellis K. Waterhouse's *Painting in Britain, 1530-1790* (London and Baltimore, 1953), John N. Summerson's *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830* (London and Baltimore, 1953), and his *Sir Christopher Wren* (London and New York, 1953), and Marcus Whiffen's

<sup>40</sup> The volume on the later seventeenth century has yet to be published.

<sup>41</sup> See above.

*Stuart and Georgian Churches: The Architecture of the Church of England outside London 1603–1837* (London, 1948), it gives a good picture of this aspect of Stuart England.

With education one comes to a bridge between intellectual and social history. Mary G. Jones's *The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth-Century Puritanism in Action* (Cambridge, Eng., 1938) is rooted firmly in the society of its period. Emphasis is on the period after 1714, but this important study of middle-class piety and benevolence in action also looks back to the origins of the movement in the late seventeenth century. Aytoun Ellis' *The Penny Universities, A History of the Coffeehouses* (London, 1956), which is not about education, but is a chatty history of the coffeehouses, belongs obviously in the field of social history.

Considering the vogue for social history, it is surprising how little has been done in that field during the past two decades. Trevelyan, the master of this genre, has not inspired a school.<sup>42</sup> The two most significant recent studies in social history have both been on a local scale: Thomas F. Reddaway's *The Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire* (London, 1940) and Henry C. Darby's *The Draining of the Fens* (Cambridge, Eng., 1940). Darby's volume, a sequel to his *Medieval Fenland* (Cambridge, Eng., 1940) and, like its predecessor, a combination of history, geography, and economics, gives a good picture of the development of the area from 1500 to 1900, with some three chapters on the later Stuart period. Reddaway's book is also an interesting combination of economic and social history. A well-balanced and fully documented treatment, it shows mastery in the varied fields of local government, social history, business, and finance. Reddaway thinks little of Wren's famous plan for London, in contrast to Jane Lane's worship of Wren in her conscientious, but romanticized *Rebuilding of St. Paul's after the Great Fire of London* (London, 1956).

Social history in the more familiar sense is attractively presented in Gladys Scott Thomson's volumes drawn from the domestic records of the Russell family. The first half of *The Russells in Bloomsbury, 1669–1771* (London, 1940), and parts of *Family Background* (London, 1949) deal with the later Stuart period. These illuminate such diverse topics as family genealogy, the topography of London, social customs, and domestic economy.<sup>43</sup> Alfred L.

<sup>42</sup> One might expect evidences of such a school in *Studies in English Social History: A Tribute to G. M. Trevelyan*, ed. John H. Plumb (London, 1955). Of the two contributors dealing with later Stuart themes, H. J. Habakkuk has done his work in economic history, particularly land-holding, while Plumb has done political biography, though with considerable attention to the social background (see above).

<sup>43</sup> Mention should also be made of Miss Thomson's *Life in a Noble Household: 1641–1700*

Rowse's *The Early Churchills: An English Family* (London, 1956) is also family history of the same period, but while lively and readable, it breaks no new ground. Other recent volumes in social history are remarkably miscellaneous. Charles F. Mullett has written of *Public Baths and Health in England, Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries* (Baltimore, 1946), Campbell R. Hone's *Life of Dr. John Radcliffe 1652-1714, Benefactor of the University of Oxford* (London, 1950) tells much about London society and the state of the medical profession, while Christopher Morris has edited with an informative introduction a fine edition of *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes* (London, 1947).

In economic history there has been much more activity than in social history. Books specifically or exclusively on the later Stuart period have been rare, but a number of recent works have devoted useful sections to this period. On the subject of trade and commerce George D. Ramsay's *English Overseas Trade During the Centuries of Emergence: Studies in Some Modern Origins of the English-speaking World* (London, 1957) is a useful synthesis of recent work, valuable for its emphasis on non-English sources. It is much fuller for the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries than for the later Stuart period. Lawrence A. Harper's *The English Navigation Laws: A Seventeenth-Century Experiment in Social Engineering* (New York, 1939) is an important description of a complicated subject.<sup>44</sup> Jean O. McLachlan's *Trade and Peace with Old Spain, 1667-1750* (Cambridge, Eng., 1940), furnishes valuable economic background for the War of the Spanish Succession and the Peace of Utrecht. It is an original combination of commercial and diplomatic history; the same can be said for Harold A. Innis' *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy* (Oxford, Eng., 1940), which might be described as a fish's eye view of the political and economic relations of the "North Atlantic Triangle."

Recent similar studies of particular areas of trade have stressed this same combination of the political and the economic, often reassessing some of the usual views of mercantilism. Raymond W. K. Hinton, in *The Eastland Trade and the Common Weal in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Eng., 1959), studies the Baltic trade and government policy toward it, concluding that government economic policy was not nearly so influenced by mercantile "pressure groups" as has been generally believed. Kenneth G. Davies' *The Royal African Company* (London, 1957) is a fine study of the "Triangular

(London, 1937), the first of this trilogy, published two years before the earlier limit of this essay.

<sup>44</sup> Some of Harper's conclusions concerning the benefits of the system have been questioned as being derived from unreliable commercial statistics. See Edward Hughes's long review in the *English Historical Review*, LV (Oct. 1940), 660.



Trade" from the standpoint of the London Company's monopoly of the slave trade. It is useful on all three sides: English, African, and West Indian. The fur trade, both in America and Europe, is treated by Edwin E. Rich in *Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870* (London, 1958), the first volume of which has just been published.<sup>45</sup>

On industry and finance there have been somewhat fewer books. George D. Ramsay has written on *The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford, Eng., 1943), emphasizing the earlier part of the period, and William H. B. Court has studied *The Rise of the Midland Industries, 1600-1828* (Oxford, Eng., 1953), stressing the period after 1714. Sir John Clapham's *The Bank of England: A History* (2 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1944) does not supersede Richard D. Richards' *Early History of Banking in England* (London, 1929), but it does include in an appendix a useful analysis of the original subscribers. Sir John Craig's *Newton at the Mint* (Cambridge, Eng., 1946) should perhaps be classed as administrative rather than financial history. It shows the great scientist performing adequately as a civil servant in a comfortably respectable and responsible position.

Of recent work in naval and military history it is to be observed that there has been nothing worth mentioning in the latter field save possibly Churchill's set battle pieces in his *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*. By contrast the field of naval history has seen considerable activity. The most comprehensive work is that of the late Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond. His Ford Lectures, first published as *Statesmen and Sea Power* (Oxford, Eng., 1946) and later partially expanded and documented in *The Navy as an Instrument of Policy, 1558-1727* (Cambridge, Eng., 1953), is an important contribution not only to naval history, but also to the history of British foreign policy.<sup>46</sup>

An outstanding monograph is John Ehrman's *The Navy in the War of William III, 1689-1697* (Cambridge, Eng., 1953), which again is not strictly confined to naval history. Ehrman emphasizes the administrative, financial, and economic problems connected with the rapid naval expansion of the reign, and his book is equally valuable on naval administration, public finance, and economic history.<sup>47</sup> A much more specialized topic is *The Walker*

<sup>45</sup> There is no documentation, but the numerous published volumes of company records, many of which Rich edited, partially supply this deficiency.

<sup>46</sup> The history of foreign policy, 1660-1714, has received no treatment during the past twenty years except in two or three articles by Professor Mark A. Thomson.

<sup>47</sup> Some of the material used by Ehrman is published by the Navy Records Society in *The Sergison Papers*, ed. Reginald D. Merriman (London, 1940).



*Expedition to Quebec, 1711* (London, 1953), discussed by Gerald S. Graham in his long introduction to a collection of documents on that subject. Similar historical introductions by Roger C. Anderson to collections of documents on the Second and Third Dutch Wars<sup>48</sup> illuminate the earlier period.

A summary of recent work in the later Stuart field is not easy. As might be expected in this age of specialization, monographs and other detailed studies predominate in most fields, with biography running a close second. Large works of synthesis are the exception, the only example being Ogg's volume on the period 1685-1702. Even in the field of biography there has been little of a broadly interpretive character. Browning's life of Danby and Turner's *James II* both have a broad sweep that covers virtually all of the period, but while neither biographer eschews judgment, their verdicts on men and events are very closely in line with the accepted traditions. New interpretations and lively debate have been lacking in recent political treatments of the later Stuart period.

In fields other than political, the picture is somewhat different. There has been an encouraging tendency to cross the traditional borders between various aspects of history: to treat religion both in terms of politics and of intellectual history (witness the amount of investigation of the impact of later seventeenth-century science on the thought and religion of that period); to explore the relationship of politics and economics with a critical eye toward the familiar generalizations about mercantilism; or to discuss naval history in broad terms of economics and politics.

Explorations of this nature provide a basis for reinterpretations and reassessments that can inspire fruitful synthesis during the next generation of historical writing on the later Stuart period.

<sup>48</sup> *The Journals of Sir Thomas Allin, 1660-1668*, ed. Roger C. Anderson (2 vols., London, 1939-40) and *Journals and Narratives of the Third Dutch War*, ed. *id.* (London, 1946).

\* \* \* \* *Reviews of Books* \* \* \* \*

General

INTRODUCTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY: AN ESSAY  
ON THE LIMITS OF HISTORICAL OBJECTIVITY. By *Raymond Aron*.  
Translated by *George J. Irwin*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1961. Pp. 351. \$7.50.)

THE belated appearance of an English translation of Raymond Aron's *Introduction à la philosophie de l'histoire*, first published in 1938 and revised in 1948, is an event of some importance. It is not so much, as Crane Brinton suggests on the dust jacket, that this "is one of the most important studies of the uses of historical knowledge to appear in the twentieth century." The book is not quite that, though it has merit. This work's intrinsic worth is not the importance of its translation. Rather one finds its significance in the historiographical tradition to which it belongs. For two generations and more, historians in this country have been hearing vague reports of a movement in German historiography. Just how much significance should attach to this movement, sometimes called *Historismus*, was never quite clear. On occasion it has attracted the attention of an American historian like Charles Beard, whose interest lasted long enough for him to derive some of his more basic theories about history from it. More often, however, *Historismus* has been almost lost in the cloud of suspicion and animosity that settled upon everything German during World War I and remained there with but a brief break until the death of Hitler. During that long period no book in English dealt more than incidentally with recent German historiography, until H. A. Hodges, in 1944, anticipated and helped prepare a change of attitude with the first of his two books on Wilhelm Dilthey. It is important, therefore, that we are now offered the first translation of work in the tradition of *Historismus*. It is curious that this work in the German historiographical tradition should have been written initially in French by a French sociologist.

As Aron suggests in the preface to *La philosophie critique de l'histoire* (1950), his historiographical genealogy runs back on one side to Dilthey and on the other to the southwest school of German neo-Kantians led by Wilhelm Windelband and Heinrich Rickert. From Dilthey he takes what has become the central thesis of the German *Geisteswissenschaften*: the object of these sciences, man and his works, is fundamentally different from the object of the natural sciences and requires a different instrument of understanding (*Verstehen*) if it is to be comprehended at all. Roughly a third of the present book is devoted to a definition of *Verstehen*—"historical understanding" in the translation—and to problems associated with it. Another third deals with causation in historical thought, a matter

with which the southwest school and its second generation adherents, like Max Weber, were much concerned. The theoretical result of both of these sections is to introduce into historiography a radical relativism, holding that the historian can neither understand the events and productions of history nor explain them causally and arrange them in developmental series without bringing to them an interpretive scheme that is not found in the historical subject matter itself. Many such schemes are available to the historian in any age and in any place—a “plurality of systems of interpretation.” They constitute an essential subjective element in every historical account. Aron recognizes that such relativism threatens to make valid historical knowledge logically impossible. He is not afraid of that dismal prospect, however, for he sees a way in which any system of interpretation can be made legitimate. The historian must make an existential choice. A man even before he is a historian, he must select or develop, out of the “plurality of systems” that “objective mind” provides, one system to which he makes an ultimate commitment. That system becomes valid for him in an absolute sense, thereby validating the historical interpretations that follow from it. “Only in this way does the individual overcome the relativity of history by the absolute of decision, and make the history he bears within, and which becomes his history, truly a part of himself.”

This book will be hard going for most readers, as it was for me, but it is worth the required effort. As the sentence quoted above suggests, the translation is rough. It is sometimes inexact as well, and one has to return to the French edition to discover the precise meaning of some passages.

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INTERPRETATIONS OF HISTORY: CONFUCIUS TO TOYNBEE. By *Alban G. Widgery*. (London: George Allen and Unwin. 1961. Pp. 260. 28s.)  
 WEGE ZUM HISTORISCHEN UNIVERSUM: VON RANKE BIS TOYNBEE. By *Joseph Vogt*. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1961. Pp. 144. DM 3.60.)

L'HISTOIRE ET SES INTERPRÉTATIONS: ENTRETIENS AUTOUR DE ARNOLD TOYNBEE, CENTRE CULTUREL INTERNATIONAL DE CERISY-LA-SALLE, 10-19 JUILLET 1958. Under the direction of *Raymond Aron*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études-Sorbonne. VI<sup>e</sup> Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Congrès et colloques, Number 3.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1961. Pp. 237. 15 new fr.)

In *Interpretations of History: From Confucius to Toynbee* Professor Widgery of Duke University surveys the answers given to questions dealing with the nature and meaning of history. He deliberately offers no critical comment, except in one or two cases, and therefore no evaluation and no interpretation. This economy makes for extensive rather than intensive coverage: the principal Oriental and

Occidental systems of religious and social thought (Part I), and the ideas on history and other subjects held by Western thinkers (Part II). The opening chapters (on China and India) indicate a persistent difficulty. Much of the literature here surveyed has nothing explicit to say about history. This handicap is overcome by liberally interpreting "history" to mean something like "existence" or at least "experience," so that ethical and other philosophic positions can count as interpretations of history. If they do, certain details—Confucius liked music, Hindus pray to God, the Koran enjoins fasting—cease to be mere irrelevancies, and the obiter dicta on history by philosophers who otherwise cared nothing about it become significant. Subsequent chapters (Greece and Rome, Islam) raise another general problem for the reader. Herodotus and Thucydides receive only one paragraph each, ibn-Khaldun only two. What were the author's criteria of selection? Among the moderns, Toynbee with nine pages and H. G. Wells with six seem to lead the field. Descartes, who, as the author remarks, "made no significant contribution with regard to history," is included, so too are Hobbes, Thomas Paine, and other thinkers commonly found in books and courses on political philosophy. But their guest appearance in the second part of this book should not obscure the real merit of that part. We find here a very good account of nineteenth-century German idealist philosophers of history, summaries of the work of Comte, Rickert, and Henri Berr, as well as welcome consideration of less widely known writers like Nordau and Grotenfelt. Marxism and several other topics are treated too summarily to sustain the author's claim that young historians and philosophers might learn much from his book. The last chapter ends with a summary of Toynbee's *Study of History*. The changes in his religious ideas which Toynbee acknowledged in the later part of his work pass unnoticed. That simplifies the exposition of what here and elsewhere preoccupies the author most: the references to religion found in philosophies of history.

Greatly superior in conception and execution is *Wege zum historischen Universum: Von Ranke bis Toynbee* by the Tübingen historian Joseph Vogt. This book has a palpable theme, the rise of the idea and practice of universal history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which is critically and knowledgeably pursued. Among the many recent German pocketbooks on historical theorizing, designed for scholar and layman alike, it must rank high. Here too, the line of writers surveyed ends with Toynbee, as the greatest universal historian, but the detailed examination of his predecessors puts his work into perspective—as does the final chapter which shows how much remains to be done before universal history can become a legitimate subject. Vogt first traces the forces antithetical to the universal view of history (that is, to the view embracing both non-European cultures and general prehistory). Historicism and other fashions are shown to have perpetuated the vice of traditional Europeanism, which even Ranke's attempts at universal history failed to escape. It was the social sciences, especially anthropology, which broadened the historical outlook. Another source was the organic conception

of cultures with its morphological assessment of stages, traceable through the works of Lasaulx and Rückert in the last century, and of Breysig in this. Together they form the background against which Spengler and Toynbee must be seen. Vogt is particularly informative on Troeltsch's "Europe-centeredness" (ascribed, not to his philosophy, but simply to the prevailing state of knowledge) and in his analysis of Alfred Weber's cultural psychology. He also has much on Burckhardt that may not be generally known. Vogt's light touch and his declaration that the antipositivist sages Windelband and Rickert had missed the point contradict the stereotype of the senior German history professor in important respects. Two criticisms need to be made. First, while the connection between the social sciences and the universal view of history affords good reason for starting with the nineteenth century, the claim that all earlier views about mankind were too parochial to yield universal histories is questionable. Second, in a book condemning historical particularism, the emphasis on German works should be explained at greater length to guard against the accusation *tu quoque*.

The year 1961 saw much of what Toynbee called "the modern equivalent of the mediaeval disputation," that is, the printed versions of his encounters with his critics, headed by his own 674-page reply to some 170 critics (the latest volume of the *Study*) and Geyl's attack on it (*Toynbee's Answer*). And now we have, belatedly, the proceedings of the Cerisy symposium, *L'histoire et ses interprétations: Entretiens autour de Arnold Toynbee*. This important and exciting meeting was attended by some thirty scholars from a half dozen European countries and from the United States (Owen Lattimore, Jacob Taubes). The gloves were off. Lucien Goldman, a leading French Marxist scholar, battled with Raymond Aron, the dominating spirit of the symposium. Voegelin's metaphysical thesis led to a combined intellectual assault on the speaker. Toynbee himself, apparently outflanked by the swift sophistication of debate, had little to contribute. The topics included national reactions to Toynbee's work, civilization and religion, the concept of decadence, the future of the West, economics, and Islam. The debates, though formally on Toynbee's concepts (not his text), were often on Spengler. Many present-day problems appeared, despite or because of Aron's prolegomena to the sessions; his most brilliant speech, a ten-page owl-of-Minerva discourse on the unforeseeability of our future, ranged over urbanization, decolonization, technology, and the USA-USSR conflict. Also to be singled out are Kurt von Fritz's paper on synthesizing political events, identifiable in time, with economic trends of uncertain temporality, and Paul Ricœur's derivation of historical understanding from a polarity—understanding by system and by particular problem—in the history of philosophy. The variety of subject matter is matched by a uniformity of seriousness and excellence of debate. Which goes to show that ideological clashes and points *ad hominem* tend to make symposia more memorable and less dull—a hint which we in this country might well take.

Harvard University

GEORGE H. NADEL

STUDIES PRESENTED TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE HISTORY OF REPRESENTATIVE AND PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS. Volume XX, INTERNATIONAL MEETING, PARIS, 1957; Volume XXIII, ALBUM HELEN MAUD CAM. (Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts. 1959; 1960. Pp. 77; 290. 100 fr. B.; 290 fr. B.)

THE series of *Studies* presented to the International Commission continues to grow apace. Besides the present Volumes XX and XXIII, for 1959 and 1960, F. L. Carsten's *Princes and Parliaments in Germany* was issued for 1959 as Volume XIX, and J. Russell Major's two studies of representative institutions in Renaissance France were issued as Volumes XXI and XXII for 1960.

Volume XX contains seven of the papers read at the meeting of the International Commission in Paris in the summer of 1957. Only one is strictly medieval—Miss Cam's essay on "The Evolution of the Medieval English Franchise." Her argument, briefly, is that since Maitland sketched the outlines of her topic, further research (much of it her own) has required some modification of his general view. He overestimated the powers possessed by lords of liberties before 1066; the granting of profits of justice which he saw as weakness can better be interpreted as evidence of strength of the monarchy; and the medieval franchise, far from being outside of or exceptional to "the national scheme of justice," was very much a part thereof, developing alongside (or perhaps it would be better to say under the control of) the monarchy. The other papers deal largely with France in the sixteenth century and are more directly concerned with representative institutions: Bodin and the Estates, the Estates General of 1614, representation of the clergy, and assemblies of nobles in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The only paper on England after 1485 is Woodward's interesting reassessment of "The Role of Parliament in the Henrician Reformation," in which it appears that although Parliament was Henry's tool, it was used in such a way as to lay the foundations for later parliamentary intervention in church affairs.

Volume XXIII is the first of a two-volume *Festschrift* presented to Miss Cam on the occasion of her retirement as president of the International Commission. As an introduction, Caroline Robbins has contributed a very gracious appreciation of Miss Cam's career, to which is appended a useful bibliography of her books, articles, and other publications. The remaining contents of the volume reflect the interests of the commission, which for many years she led, rather than her own interests as a scholar. Only two chapters deal with medieval English topics; the other thirteen papers range from the twelfth to the eighteenth century and are concerned with various aspects of political thought and representative institutions. Two American scholars contributed. W. O. Ault's study of "Village Assemblies in Medieval England" shows that the evidence for village assemblies is not really satisfactory until after the thirteenth century, and, the author states, "for the earlier centuries we have still to depend upon inference, but it is clear and inescapable." R. E. Giesey's paper on "The French Estates and the Corpus Mysticum Regni" is

essentially an analysis of some hitherto neglected texts of Jean de Terre Rouge, on the basis of which it appears that the author of these texts does not deserve his modern reputation as a constitutionalist, but he is all the more interesting for that.

*University of Minnesota*

ROBERT S. HOYT

REVOLUTION AND PAPACY, 1769-1846. By *E. E. Y. Hales*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1960. Pp. 320. \$4.50.)

Mr. Hales, who joined the staff of the British Embassy in Washington as education counselor in the spring of 1961, is well known to students of the modern papacy for his balanced and judicious studies in the period since the French Revolution. His *Pio Nono* (1954) and *The Catholic Church in the Modern World* (1958) gave evidence of wide and deep reading in the printed sources and secondary literature, and his new book bears the same mark in addition to embodying some fresh evidence uncovered in the Vatican Archives. The results of this careful research and measured interpretation, when set forth in Hales's clear and attractive style, make for an informative and interesting account of the years when the papacy reached its lowest ebb since the Protestant revolt. Obviously, in approximately 285 pages no one can tell the complete history of the popes from the election of Clement XIV to the death of Gregory XVI. But the author has submitted these years to a fresh scrutiny and extracted from them the most meaningful lessons for the history of the papacy after 1846. One sees, for example, the dismal state to which the papacy was reduced by the secular rulers in the 1770's in Clement XIV's suppression of the Jesuits, which the author regards as a defeat "the most serious the Church had suffered since Luther's revolt"; there is also the pathetic outcome of Pius VI's journey to Vienna in 1782 in the hope of winning over Joseph II, a move to which Cardinal de Bernis, French ambassador at Rome, was strongly opposed; and when he failed to dissuade the Pope, he remarked to Vergennes (February 13, 1782), "God is not obliged to repair by miracles the imprudences of His Vicars." But the conflict between Pius VI and the French revolutionary government and then Bonaparte, as well as the latter's contest with Pius VII, were more important.

Although in all this there is nothing that is startlingly new, there is the play of an informed mind whose sympathies for its subject are never permitted to interfere with the objectivity of presentation. Meanwhile the reader is given an analysis of events that makes some of the difficult problems of later papal history more understandable. For example, in Hales's judgment, Pius VII's reply of March 21, 1806, to Napoleon refusing to bar the Emperor's enemies from the Papal States, embodies the "classic statement" of the papacy toward its temporal power. And in my opinion, the analysis of the mentality that prevailed among the officials of the Roman Curia in regard to liberalism, contained in the chapter, "The Condemnation of Liberalism," is one of the most revealing accounts in the work. In addition to a splendid introduction called "The Climate of Opinion in 1769," there are



eighteen chapters of the narrative, four appendixes, a bibliography with some comment on both manuscript and published sources, and an adequate index. One of the lasting impressions left by this book is foreshadowed in a point made in the author's preface when he speaks of the paradox of Pope Pius VII's loss of everything during the years 1809-1814 when he was a prisoner of Bonaparte, and yet it was while the pontiff was in this stricken condition that "he won the Church's greatest spiritual victory of modern times and thus engendered the ultramontane revival."

*Catholic University of America*

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

LEO XIII AND THE MODERN WORLD. Edited by *Edward T. Gargan*. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1961. Pp. 246. \$4.50.)

SEVEN of the nine essays in this interesting volume were read at a symposium held at Loyola University, Chicago, in March 1960 to commemorate the sesquicentennial of the birth of Pope Leo XIII and to reassess his influence upon the contemporary world. Since there are few recent biographies of Leo, especially in English, this work is a useful one, although most of the papers rely mainly upon secondary sources, and there are none concerned specifically with the Pope's relations with France and Germany. In a brief introduction the editor of this volume, Professor Edward T. Gargan, identifies the continuing issues in regard to Leo's reign, such as the relationship between scholastic philosophy and modern thought, the Church's concern for the political and social needs of man, and the applicability of the Pope's thought in a democratic state. Gargan and Raymond H. Schmandt have added a selective bibliography of works by and about Leo and his era. There is no index.

In a general account of the life and work of Pope Leo, Schmandt pays tribute to him as one of the great popes for his manifold political, social, intellectual, and spiritual contributions, but feels that he failed to understand nationalism and through his concern with the Roman question accidentally prepared the way for fascism. Kenneth S. Latourette describes the forces weakening the Christian church in the early nineteenth century and discusses the reasons for the great revival and expansion of both Catholicism and Protestantism thereafter. S. William Halperin, in a scholarly essay on the Roman question, which draws considerably from his book, *Italy and the Vatican at War*, declares that Leo XIII cannot be understood without considering Pius IX, whose policies he supported, especially the claim to temporal sovereignty. Leo, however, was more moderate in his statement of his claims and would have settled for recognition of papal sovereignty over Vatican City, the solution finally arrived at in 1929. His diplomatic relations with Germany, Austria, and France were to a considerable degree determined by his effort to obtain support for his temporal sovereignty, and his insistence upon the *non expedit* weakened the Church's position in Italy. Perhaps Leo's most sig-

nificant contribution is analyzed by the Rt. Rev. Joseph N. Moody in a perceptive paper on "Leo XIII and the Social Crisis." Leo, who very accurately appraised the social problems and attitudes of the industrial worker in 1891 and realized the danger to the Church and society from class conflict and revolution, believed that the Church must adopt a constructive program of social reform, and that the state must intervene to protect workers and their associations. Although influenced by Social Catholicism, Leo did not advocate any one type of social or economic formula, but favored private associations and freedom for the workers rather than corporativism in the final draft of his great encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*. His flexible approach and deep concern for human values enabled the Church to adapt its policies to changing circumstances in the twentieth century.

The apostolic delegate to the United States, the Most Rev. Egidio Vagnozzi, examines Leo XIII's views on liberty in an essay that contains some irrelevant passages. In the eyes of the aristocratic Pope, liberty was obedience to the laws of God and the just laws of the state, which were derived from the law of God. The Rev. Eric McDermott describes the Pope's intervention on the side of the bishops in the conflict between the regular and secular clergy in Great Britain and his unrealistic hope of a reunion of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches. The Rev. Thomas T. McAvoy shows that Leo's reign was a fruitful period in American Catholic history because of his issue of disciplinary regulations for the American Church, support of progressive American churchmen, and establishment of the apostolic delegation and Catholic University in Washington, D. C.

According to James Collins, Leo urged the revival of the study of Thomism in Catholic schools and its re-evaluation in the light of modern knowledge, as well as the study of the modern physical and social sciences. Although the Pope was not a great theologian, according to the Rev. Gustave Weigel, he strengthened theological studies by insisting upon the study of historical sources and by opening the Vatican Archives up to the year 1831. He permitted the use of higher criticism as a tool if basic spiritual truths were unharmed. He was intensely interested in the problem of the relations between Church and state, which he believed could be peaceful if the Church retained its freedom.

From these pages Leo XIII emerges as a firm and enlightened administrator, a man of deep intellectual interests, and a progressive and shrewd statesman, who may not have understood completely all the currents of his day, but was keenly aware that the Church must adapt itself to an era of social change if its doctrines and institutions were to endure.

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EVELYN M. ACOMB

VSEMIKNAIA ISTORIJA [Universal History]. Volume VII. Edited by *A. A. Guber et al.* (Moscow: Publishing House for Socio-Economic Literature. 1960. Pp. 819. 40 rubles.)

LIKE the earlier volumes of this series, this book is well designed, handsomely

illustrated, and provided with an extensive bibliography, a chronological table, and several indexes. The various portions are from the pens of about forty noted Russian scholars, making it a leading Soviet historical work.

The presentation of the factual material is sober and apparently accurate. In many respects it differs from standard Western treatments only in the emphasis and the conclusions drawn. The scene opens with the Paris Commune of 1871 and other revolutionary events of that year, with a long account of the bloody climax and the lessons to be learned therefrom, followed by descriptions of radical movements in Spain, Italy, Hungary, Germany, and other European countries. The growth and development of world capitalism receive marked attention, especially the appearance of trusts and cartels as forms of finance capitalism. A natural consequence of this was the frenzied rush for colonial acquisitions, which often resulted in cruelties and conflicts. The authors tell the story in restrained fashion, paying, for example, relatively little attention to the Congo atrocities. On the other hand, there is heavy emphasis on the opposition of the colonial peoples, expressed in armed resistance, strikes, demonstrations, and uprisings, from Ireland to Madagascar and from Mexico to India and China.

In contrast to this, the Soviet historians pay relatively slight attention to parliamentary struggles and the workings of party politics, which, as Marxists, they feel have little real meaning. The rise of the Labour party after Taff Vale, the Lloyd George budget, and the Parliament Act of 1911 draw some attention, but chiefly as examples of the futility of parliamentary methods. The section on the United States skims over American politics, dwelling rather on the Greenbackers and Grangers, the Knights of Labor, and Eugene Debs. Prewar Russia figures largely in this volume, on the grounds that in 1905 it became the center of the widespread revolutionary movements that were gaining strength.

Moving on to the First World War, the authors stress the imperialist rivalries that led to the conflict and the aggressive actions of Austria and Germany, without absolving the other powers of guilt. The treatment of the war itself is sober and dispassionate, with emphasis on the terrible losses and the futility of the fighting. The growing suffering and fierce popular unrest form a significant theme in this section. The historical narrative closes, not with the end of the war, but with the revolution that swept Lenin and the Bolsheviks to power—an event that receives much attention, as a turning point in world history.

The final section of the book, that on science, obviously by able scholars, provides a readable and well-organized account of world scientific development during these decades. Similarly, there is a survey of world literature, country by country, and a discussion of the pictorial arts. Realism and social significance are the standards by which excellence is judged.

This is an example of the best of Soviet historiography, with the interpretation clearly along Marxist lines.

*Duke University*

JOHN SHELTON CURTISS

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES, 1895-1903. By *A. E. Campbell*. ([London:] Longmans. 1960. Pp. 216. 30s.)

THE "Anglo-American connection" has played a unique role in the histories of the two countries. In a diplomatic study of the years 1895-1903, Mr. Campbell has analyzed in some detail three disputes: the Venezuelan boundary affair, the Isthmian Canal negotiations, and the Alaskan boundary delimitation. Each of these crises rose as a consequence of the new American imperialism; each resulted in a compromise at British expense. Why did British statesmen sign "virtual treaties of surrender" and the British public accept and even applaud these diplomatic setbacks? It is the author's thesis that irrational factors, a sense of kinship, a belief in the superiority and eventual victory of the Anglo-Saxons, and a paternal pride in the American advance paved the way for a policy of concession. These half-articulated feelings created a fund of basic good will which overcame temporary irritations over the extent of American demands and the sharpness of her tactics. Distinct from Anglo-German relations, none of these disputes created an anti-American opinion. On the contrary, during the Spanish-American War, the British public alone in Europe favored the Americans in the belief that an American victory was both inevitable and morally just. The author amply proves his case that British policy, both official and unofficial, was based on this sense of racial identity rather than on a clear analysis of the facts or a true community of interests. Even where the latter existed, as in China, actual cooperation was limited and bore few results.

The British assumed that American activity would be limited to the Western Hemisphere where English (if not Canadian) interests were not directly engaged. This assumption was sound if shortsighted; the United States had not yet emerged as a world power. At a time when England was bearing the brunt of American expansion, the belief that basic conflict between the two nations was impossible made a British withdrawal feasible.

In stating his case, Campbell has used a wide variety of English manuscript sources and has meshed them into a coherent story. Most of the relevant secondary material has been utilized, though the monograph, unfortunately, contains no bibliography. By concentrating on this one aspect of English diplomacy, the author has underestimated the importance of external factors in the shaping of policy. While to some people the Boer War was a triumph for isolation, members of the Conservative cabinet, particularly Lord Lansdowne, were anxious to reduce British diplomatic commitments abroad and to ease the burden on its naval forces. The concessions to the United States, therefore, while made in a unique spirit, should be seen as part of a general reorientation in British attitudes.

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ZARA STEINER

## Ancient and Medieval

THE ORIGINS OF GREEK CIVILIZATION, 1100-650 B.C. By *Chester G. Starr*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1961. Pp. xviii, 385, x. \$8.50.)

THE destruction of the Bronze Age Minoan-Mycenaean civilization was a process which obliterated enough of that civilization so that the next three centuries, ca. 1100-ca. 800 B.C., were and have remained the darkest in European history. This dark age is the germinal period of the Greek civilization, but, except for a few dim happenings, no "historical" events whatever are known—no precise details, no date for anything, no individual real as a person. What is a historian to do?

Various answers have been tried. To make up a literary account, T. B. L. Webster reached out for every possible clue, then proceeded by loose association (*From Mycenae to Homer*, 1958). It was a learned and valiant effort. Starr tries the opposite strategy. He largely rejects such clues as may lurk in epic, in myth, and in cult; survivals from the Minoan-Mycenaean Age (no list given) he thinks were minimal; Thucydides was obsessed with sea power. A positivist when it comes to seeking evidence, Starr rejects every possible clue except pottery. Pottery alone has a continuous history, and so in this instance positivism reduces over three hundred years of history ultimately to the ceramics of just one site (no other preserves the whole sequence), that of the Kerameikos in Athens. This is an extreme course to adopt, but the effect will probably be wholesome.

In order to find and trace the origins of Greek civilization, intuition is called upon. The mind of the potter is divined, and his mind is equated with the mind of the period. The pottery shows a change, for instance, at the time "ca. 1025 B.C.," when sub-Mycenaean becomes Protogeometric. This marks the birth of Greek civilization. Another change is sensed ca. 750 B.C., when Geometric pottery reaches its apex. This marks the coming of the Greek renaissance; the new inspiration was native, antedating the arrival of orientalizing influences. These two cardinal changes were not discovered by Starr, but no one has done more to put them in a setting, to make them seem like history. The effort deserves praise.

But the spiritual interpretation of pottery may lead to results altogether opposite to the positivism with which the inquiry started. Can the *Iliad* be dated by comparing insights into Geometric pottery with insights into the epic? The result is to say the *Iliad* was "consolidated" by ca. 750 B.C. No one can deny it flatly, but insights coupled with vague terminology will not convince when there is no mention of the oral technique, nor any consideration whatever of how the poem could be preserved in "consolidated" form if the Greeks learned to write only ca. 720 B.C. Worse still, if the day comes when adulation of Geometric pottery is less of a fashion, there is more than a chance that certain of its characteristics will then be

seen, by truer insights, to be far removed from what truer insights will reveal about the *Iliad*.

The remainder of the book is the renaissance of Greece: after the long dark centuries, the brightness of a sudden dawn. Pottery is still the one continuum, but intuition need no longer be so largely confined to the products of one craft. Specific events are known: greatest in number, the colonizings; and personalities, Hesiod, Arkhilokhos, an increasing throng. Starr has seen that it was all a swift, exciting, brilliant development. His account has much general matter on "social" questions, too little that is specific and telling, or new. The organization of society, the structure of government, the institutions of cult are left vague. Readers weary of "over-all" statements and of "general" education will tend to feel that, instead of being stone, brick, and timber, the new Greek *poleis* were clouds of words. Other criticisms might be offered, but, making such allowances, undoubtedly this is the best part of the book, and among synthetic accounts of the Greek renaissance (not numerous, to be sure), this is the best. The author's enthusiasm communicates excitement, and it is no small merit to have avoided wild theories.

As in many Knopf books, the presentation is gracious and aids the content. The footnotes, for instance, are actually footnotes. They contain much, but strangely many pioneers of the study, including R. Carpenter, W. B. Dinsmoor, A. B. Lord, M. Parry, and A. N. Stillwell, are hardly noticed if at all. This is the more unfortunate because their writings embody the vivid and substantial concreteness sometimes absent in this book.

Harvard University

STERLING DOW

LEX IURISDICTION: RECHERCHES SUR LES ASSEMBLÉES JUDICIAIRES ET LÉGISLATIVES, SUR LES DROITS ET SUR LES OBLIGATIONS COMMUNAUTAIRES DANS L'EUROPE DES FRANCS. In two volumes. By *Joseph Balon*. [*Ius Medii Aevi*, Volume II.] (Namur: Les Anc. Ets Godenne. 1960. Pp. xxxiii, 231; 240-609. 1,200 fr. B.)

THIS book takes us back to the Teutonic forest once more. For Mr. Balon, however, it is the Franks rather than the Anglo-Saxons whose tribal peculiarities provide the key to an understanding of Western institutions. The author, a distinguished Belgian jurist, is known to legal historians for several excellent studies on medieval Namur and for a learned but controversial work on Frankish property law published in 1954, *Fondements du régime foncier au moyen âge*. The first volume of his new series on *Ius Medii Aevi* dealt with the structure and organization of ecclesiastical estates in the early Middle Ages. This second study is concerned with the Frankish conception of *lex*. A volume of *textes justificatifs* presents over a thousand passages from Frankish legal codes, charters, chronicles, and letters which use the term *lex* or its derivatives (*legalis*, *legaliter*, *legitimus*, *legitime*), while the accompanying volume is a commentary on these texts. The

central argument of the book is that, in all the passages cited, the variants of the word *lex* refer in some way to the procedures of a judicial assembly, and, finally, it is maintained that in Frankish sources the word *lex* actually meant a judicial assembly (which might also have had a legislative capacity), all other meanings being derived from that primary one. The complex of rights and duties centered around such communal courts created the climate that made possible the subsequent growth of assemblies of estates.

The collection of texts will be a valuable source book for scholars concerned with these problems, and much of the author's argument is convincing. It can readily be accepted that "Le droit du moyen âge fut fondamentalement collectif," that many legal transactions like transfers of property took place under judicial forms and in the presence of a court, and that, accordingly, references to the procedures of judicial assemblies can often be discerned in Frankish legal sources. But the author has to press his texts very hard to substantiate all his conclusions. To criticize his handling of them point by point would take a review as long as the book, but it seems to me that too often he asserts that the word *lex* in a given context can only be translated as "jurisdiction" or "judicial assembly" when in fact that obvious word "law" provides a quite satisfactory rendering. An underlying assumption of the whole argument is that formulas like *legitimo iure, iuste et legaliter* are never to be explained as mere repetitious rhetoric but always as expressions of sophisticated legal distinctions. "Le style juridique du moyen âge, déjà à l'époque mérovingienne, est là tout entier, comme un témoignage irrécusable de grandeur, de vérité et de précision." It is indeed hard to believe that the Merovingian charters with their debased handwriting, debased Latin, and dismal testimony to debased institutions were drafted by men who were consciously engaged in shaping a supple, nuanced, and precise legal language with terms of art indeed "plus précises, plus fermes que les nôtres."

In short this is a work that reflects real erudition and great industry and that offers many stimulating insights on particular points, but its more sweeping generalizations cannot be accepted without substantial reservations.

*Cornell University*

BRIAN TIERNEY

DER KOSMOS DES MITTELALTERS VON KARL DEM GROSSEN ZU  
BERNHARD VON CLAIRVAUX. By *Wolfram von den Steinen*. (Bern:  
Francke Verlag, 1959. Pp. 400. 48 fr. S.)

THE author's definition of his title shows the breadth of his interests and the ambitious goal which he set himself in writing this book. "Cosmos," he says, "stretches from the greatest to the smallest, and from the material to the spiritual. The world of the Middle Ages—in this everything is to be understood which lay within the horizon of the men of that period, all the different ways in which they established themselves on their earth. But cosmos means at the same time organi-



zation, or, better, structure." Thus all the different manifestations of the medieval spirit are to be discussed within the framework of medieval society.

In many ways the author has been successful in this difficult task. He has a real feeling for the religious atmosphere of the period, for the way in which Christianity penetrated everything and created a world outlook so different from ours. He shows clearly how the organization of the Church and the expression of its doctrine changed during the centuries and how these changes were reflected in other activities. He is apt at finding striking quotations which illuminate the points he is trying to make.

Yet he has not given us the synthesis of medieval culture for which he strove. Perhaps no one can ever fully accomplish that task; certainly it became more difficult for the author as he progressed in his work. Some of the later chapters, for example the one on *Das Neue Lied*, do not seem well integrated with the rest of the book, and the well-ordered cosmos of the earlier centuries seems to be splitting into fragments by the time the last half of the eleventh century has been reached.

It is also true that the author has certain mildly expressed prejudices whose cumulative effect greatly lessens the value of his work. Like most medievalists he loves his period, and he makes it considerably more orderly, peaceful, and happy than it probably was. He has a tendency to overemphasize German accomplishments and to exaggerate the influence of Germanic ideas. He believes that the ideals expressed in literary documents were actually observed in real life; this leads him to surprising estimates about the character and benevolence of the nobility. These prejudices are especially serious (because they all coincide) in his section on feudalism, which he describes in a way which is hardly recognizable to anyone who has studied the basic documents on the subject.

On the other hand, while the book as a whole has weaknesses, there are many individual passages which are stimulating. The author has interesting things to say about most of the great (and some of the lesser) figures of the period from 800 to 1150. This would not be a book with which to begin the study of the Middle Ages. But it might be a very useful book for readers who already know something of the Middle Ages and who would like to speculate about the essential character of medieval culture.

Princeton University

J. R. STRAYER

L'HÉRÉSIE DE JEAN HUSS. By *Paul De Vooght*. [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Number 34.] (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain; distrib. by Éditions Nauwelaerts, Louvain. 1960. Pp. xix, 494. 350 fr. B.)

HUSSIANA. By *Paul De Vooght*. [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Number 35.] (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain; distrib. by Éditions Nauwelaerts, Louvain. 1960. Pp. vii, 450. 400 fr. B.)

REVEREND Paul De Vooght, a Belgian monk, spent several years in a Benedictine convent at the outskirts of Prague. While there, he mastered the Czech language and made preliminary studies for a scholarly work on the origin and rise of the reform movement in Bohemia. After many years of additional research, he produced a comprehensive survey of the teachings of John Hus to elucidate the vexed question of the reformer's heresy. As a companion volume he published a collection of essays, containing *vetera et nova*, namely, articles published originally in learned magazines as well as new contributions. Some of these minor works support the author's theses, as formulated in his monograph on Hus's heresy, others deal with problems and personalities which jointly determined the course of the Czech struggle for Church reform.

The problem that primarily occupies the learned Benedictine is neither new nor easy to solve. To get at its core he re-examined coercive measures adopted either by the local hierarchy, or by Rome, and finally by the Council of Constance in order to silence the fiery preacher in the Chapel of Bethlehem. To what extent could Hus be accused of flagrant defiance of lawful authorities and in what points did he actually deviate from the Church doctrine? In separating these basic questions and treating them individually, De Vooght does not follow modern Czech historians with Catholic views, among whom the late Professor Jan Sedlák was most distinguished. Looking at Hus from a distance and free of national or other bias, the Belgian scholar is more detached and wishes sincerely to arrive at solid, acceptable conclusions. He deserves credit for his honest effort to disentangle highly debatable issues relating to Hus's activities in Prague and the proceedings against him at the Council of Constance.

The author's task was in no small measure complicated by Hus, himself, who not infrequently but mostly unwittingly blurred the line between official doctrine and heterodoxy. De Vooght has shown that in the heat of controversies concerning John Wyclif's ideas, Hus made statements which only people well versed in theology were able to grasp and interpret correctly. On the other hand, by his unrestrained praise of Wyclif's zeal, the Czech reformer gave weapons to his own enemies who resented his merciless criticism of clerical life and who, in order to hit him more effectively, accused him of disseminating Wyclif's errors.

Apart from the Eucharist, the definition of the Church was the subject of many sermons, academic lectures, and polemical writings. Although the problems of transubstantiation or remanence were extremely subtle, Hus did not lose the sense of orientation in controversies relating to them and never adopted Wyclif's teaching of remanence. While the author's effort to illuminate this matter was comparatively easy, the other set of ideas called for a more detailed investigation. What in Hus's early career had appeared to be a purely theoretical point became an acute dilemma in the latter stage of his life when he was involved in conflicts with ecclesiastical authorities and had to determine for himself and his followers who should be respected as the supreme authority in matters of faith and conscience.

Hus's ecclesiology is, indeed, the main object of De Vooght's studies, and he made an original and valuable contribution to its evaluation.

The author has accepted as a solid basis for his judgment Martin V's bull of February 1418, which referred to thirty excerpts from Hus's books, but passed in silence over charges and testimonies presented during the trial either by Czech opponents or members of the council. Thus the gap between Hus's teachings and the official doctrine has been considerably reduced. While four articles relating to papal primacy fell into the category of heresies, others could be called more appropriately erroneous, scandalous, rash, or offensive to pious ears.

The author does not acquit Hus of all guilt and does not plead for a revision of his trial. He is not entirely successful in presenting the dynamic elements in the reformer's personality, but he enhanced the value of his book by frequent references to such historical realities as the schism in Western Christendom, the existence, at one time, of three competitors for the tiara, and the cleavage between the advocates of papal supremacy and the protagonists of the conciliar movement. His judgments are balanced and free of animosity.

Despite many barriers hindering today's academic exchanges, the author succeeded in mastering both printed sources and critical literature. Missing among earlier works on the subject is a book dealing with the main aspect of Hus's life (his reform endeavor), *John Hus and the Czech Reform* by Professor Matthew Spinka.

University of Pennsylvania

OTAKAR ODLOZILIK

## Modern Europe

THE RENAISSANCE: A RECONSIDERATION OF THE THEORIES AND INTERPRETATIONS OF THE AGE. Edited by *Tinsley Helton*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1961. Pp. xiii, 160. \$4.00.)

THE centennial of Georg Voigt's *Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums* and Jacob Burckhardt's *Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* has inspired a number of scholars to look back over the past hundred years and assess the progress of research and the changes in interpretation of the Renaissance and humanism that have taken place since the publication of these two epoch-making books. Such a reconsideration of a century of Renaissance scholarship was the theme of a symposium held at the University of Wisconsin in November 1959, and the results published under the editorship of Tinsley Helton constitute a significant contribution to a much-debated subject. The volume includes six essays by Garrett Mattingly, Paul O. Kristeller, Earl Rosenthal, Edward Rosen, Bernard Weinberg, and Harry Levin, dealing respectively with the political and intellectual history and the

history of art, science, continental literature, and English literature of the Renaissance.

All six essays present some challenging conclusions as well as valuable reviews of the major tendencies in the interpretation of their respective fields of interest. Taken together they leave a distinct impression that the tide of revisionism which a few years ago threatened to revise the "Burckhardtian" Renaissance out of existence has now begun to recede. Although definitions vary with the subject matter under discussion, there is general agreement that there was an identifiable Renaissance. Yet, while rejecting many of the interpretations offered by revisionists in the extreme form in which they were first presented, the contributors to this symposium show full appreciation of what of lasting value has been left as a residue by the receding tide. Kristeller and Rosenthal, in particular, emphasize the fruitful results of the debate over the origin and nature of the Renaissance and the degree to which successive interpretations have made positive contributions that have broadened and enriched our understanding of the period. Renaissance scholarship, indeed, seems now to have passed through the stages of thesis and antithesis in the dialectical process and to be approaching that of synthesis. At the same time, nearly all the contributors urge the need for more verifiable facts and a more extensive study of texts and documents before a satisfactory synthesis can be reached. Mattingly reminds us that "when they have no new, verifiable facts, the newest revisers are not necessarily the soundest," and Kristeller warns "that there is an enormous amount of work in Renaissance intellectual history that remains to be done before we can hope to approach any valid general theory." Weinberg, too, calls attention to a shift in emphasis from the cultural-historical to a more critical approach to Renaissance literature that has opened up new fields for exploration. With this realization of the amount of work still to be done, a less dogmatic attitude than was characteristic of many of the revisionists of the past two or three generations has also come.

*University of Western Ontario*

WALLACE K. FERGUSON

FRANCE, EUROPE AND THE TWO WORLD WARS. By *René Albrecht-Carrié*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1961. Pp. 346. \$7.00.)

At the present disenchanted juncture it is probably difficult to write about pre-1939 Europe with much sympathy. Where France is concerned, it is easy enough to become a little morose. Whether Europe and the French of the years between the wars will ultimately be so disconsolately viewed, others must one day say, but the mood now is one of disillusionment. And Mr. Albrecht-Carrié's chapter titles ("The False Peace," "The Era of Illusions") reflect it. His thesis here is that pivotal though France's position after 1919 was, she had no will to control Europe and failed to use what strength she had. After asserting themselves somewhat futilely when no danger existed, the French promptly retreated when real threats

appeared, abdicating on behalf of the misguided and incompetent British. All the illusions and fears about French hegemony tumbled down by 1936. In fact they had been groundless from the start of the twenty-year peace. Even before 1914 France's relative decline had been masked; the victory of 1919 only perpetuated this cruel concealment. The peace of 1919 was founded upon the myth of French supremacy, and although this essay (as the author terms it) suggests always the possibility of French leadership and action before 1936, a hint of inevitable collapse creeps through the tale.

This is not an entirely new viewpoint. Yet it is not on that account uninteresting. And there are sections here (on the Paris Peace Conference and on Locarno) which seem fresh, stimulating, illuminated by insight, even if (and I think this is particularly true of the Locarno discussion) rather more speculative than historical. Set in a broad European background, the story of the rise and fall of "the French system" is clearly told. Perhaps the title might better have reflected this theme.

One might make criticisms too of the content. It is disappointing at this date to see the Maginot Line so conventionally and misleadingly discussed, for a number of important studies have long since told us what it was designed to be, what it was, and what it came to seem to be; the treatment of Laval is surely narrower and less understanding than it now might be; the sketch of such a man as Von Papen, unimportant though it be, reflects emotions of another day; to call the German Yellow Case Plan of 1940 basically the same as the Schlieffen Plan is to stretch things quite a lot; and to say the French army was not deficient in equipment is to put too little too strongly. Other readers will question other statements, but there is a more general query about the form of this essay.

Indeed, one may wonder if it is an essay. Partly perhaps it is an essay, or a series of essays, but it is also an account of diplomatic history focused on France, accompanied by one of the most irritating trains of insistent footnotes recently encountered. The footnotes are disruptive and often far from necessary; such useful material as they contain might better have been worked into the text. This raises the problem of whom this book is designed for, a problem not solved by the bibliographical apparatus. Albrecht-Carrié's citations are sometimes rather hit and miss, and his modest disclaimer to thoroughness does not explain the peculiarity of his references where often the best work is not mentioned.

The book might have profited from the most rigorous rewriting, from the most severe pruning of footnotes, from a far more careful bibliographical sprinkling, and from a more satisfactory epilogue to cover the years from 1936 to the present. But none of this is intended in any way to discount the essential interest of the work. It is simply regrettable that it could not have been made briefer, livelier, and more to the point.

*University of Toronto*

JOHN C. CAIRNS

BRITAIN IN WORLD AFFAIRS: THE FLUCTUATION IN POWER AND INFLUENCE FROM HENRY VIII TO ELIZABETH II. By *Lord William Strang*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1961. Pp. 426. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$2.25.)

LORD Strang entered the Foreign Office in 1919 and served in various capacities at home and abroad. With Eden, Bevin, and others, he shared in the triumph of bringing the Foreign Office out of the exile it suffered from 1938 to 1940, when it was "as powerless as a branch Post Office" (John Connell, *The "Office"*). From 1949 until his retirement in 1953 he was permanent Undersecretary. The combination of experience and wide reading is put to good use in this attempt to explain the capacity of Britain "to get its own way in international affairs."

The book is not intended as a balanced survey of the whole modern period, for the three hundred years prior to 1815 are dealt with in an introductory section comprising about a quarter of the whole. Here reliance is largely based on secondary literature, and a few judgments seem unsound. James I is entitled to more credit than he is here given for maintaining peace through the longest period in English history until the nineteenth century. It is by no means certain that the paternalism of Charles I's personal rule favored the poor against the rich. Far from being "wise enough to wait on the support of Parliament for his great policies," William III hated the party system, believed the English people blind to foreign dangers, consulted neither cabinet nor Privy Council on important foreign affairs, withheld from parliamentary scrutiny his most important negotiation, the grand alliance, and made no reference in the speech from the throne (1699) to the second partition treaty. Not until 1701 did he begin to take Parliament into his confidence and seek its support.

This exemplifies the dangers of oversimplification to which Lord Strang himself calls attention in more than one place. The formulation of policy in a constitutional state takes place amid countless conflicting pressures that pose many obstacles to the achievement of continuity. The attitude of the opposition party may be such an obstacle, and it is rather surprising that Lord Strang has not devoted more attention to those whom A. J. P. Taylor called the troublemakers.

The period 1815-1850 is regarded as the high point of Britain's influence and is described with great vigor, as befits the policy of Castlereagh, Canning, and Palmerston. Much attention is devoted to the relation between foreign policy and public opinion, the influence of which is evaluated at various crises. There is no systematic account of the machinery of diplomacy, but there are a number of welcome incidental comments. It is instructive to learn that Stratford de Redcliffe was regarded as a pest by one Foreign Secretary of the day, and Lord Strang's verdicts on the personnel of his own time are equally interesting. His sketch of Curzon, for example, justly brings out his great attainments, but concludes that as Foreign Secretary "he was a sore burden to his officials."

The last section deals with the postwar period down to 1960 and inevitably seems a tract for the times. Yet the changes in Britain's international position are summarized with clarity, and the frustrations of the cold war are presented with great insight. Although the account of the Suez operation of 1956 seems to be special pleading, objectivity and fairness are characteristic of the book as a whole.

*Vanderbilt University*

P. H. HARDACRE

A HISTORY OF ENGLAND. Volume V, THE CENTURY OF REVOLUTION, 1603-1714. By *Christopher Hill*. (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1961. Pp. xii, 340. 25s.)

IN many ways this is a brilliant book written in a style that will appeal to most readers. Mr. Hill relates chiefly the social, economic, and human history of the seventeenth century. His book abounds in short, apt, and not too familiar quotations from contemporaries. He writes about people individually and collectively. Unfortunately he does not present a whole man in character, personality, and ability, whether king, lord, or commoner.

For the reader who knows this "century of revolution," this is a fascinating book, but for the uninitiated there are many gaps over which he will not be able to step. The political background appears to be of little importance; Hill almost takes it for granted. The constitution, fundamental in the seventeenth century, is also neglected in spite of chapters labeled "Politics and the Constitution." He is excellent in showing how people lived, thought, worshiped, and earned their livelihood, but he is weak in describing their governments, the actions of their rulers, or their institutional clashes. He does not, however, ignore completely the struggle between king and Parliament.

Though he leaves the gentry in their place and does not get involved in the recent controversy over this class, he seems to like and at times feel sorry for the common man, that is, the yeoman, tradesman, or artisan who frequently was a puritan and had a rather difficult time. The author has no ideological ax to grind, though as might be expected, he has no love for the Stuarts and little for the nobility.

This book is divided into four natural parts. The first two from the accession of James I to the Restoration are covered in 190 pages, while the last two ending with the death of Anne are included in 120 pages. Each part is subdivided into four or five chapters under the headings: "Narrative of Events" (extremely short), "Politics and the Constitution," "Economics," "Religion and Ideas," and "Conclusion" (omitted in the third part). There are four helpful appendixes followed by a list of "Books for Further Reading" which is too dependent on Hill's taste to be of great value. This stimulating book is the fifth volume, the second to be published, in a new eight-volume *History of England*.

*New York University*

HAROLD HULME



THE RISE OF THE BRITISH TREASURY: COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Dora Mae Clark*. [Yale Historical Publications, Studies Number 20.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 249. \$5.00.)

THE title of this book is misleading, although the subtitle offers a partial correction. The theme of the volume is that in the course of the eighteenth century the British Treasury became so potent in policy making that "when the American colonies declared their independence, they were revolting against a set of policies devised by the British Treasury and the methods by which these policies were enforced. . . . As a consequence of these developments the Treasury, more than any other branch of the British Government, was responsible for the loss of the American colonies." This is something less—and something more—than "The Rise of the British Treasury."

If we accept the somewhat narrow view implied with regard to the causes of the American Revolution, Miss Clark's argument is admirably developed and solidly sustained. She begins with a discussion of "The Treasury and the Plantations in the Early Eighteenth Century" and devotes about half of the study to the period before 1763. From the War of the Spanish Succession through the Seven Years' War, monetary needs, especially those associated with colonial defense, lifted the voices of the Lord High Treasurers until they became a dominant factor in devising many of the policies that precipitated the American War for Independence. Always opposed in principle (but often forced in practice) to appeals to Parliament for appropriations for the colonies, the Treasury reached a turning point in 1763. The huge demands at that time caused a dynamic Parliament, guided by George Grenville, to seek revenues in the colonies and to introduce more efficient administrative measures to enforce them. Rockingham effected a brief relaxation, but Grafton and Lord North, spurred on by their subordinates, Charles Jenkinson, John Robinson, and Thomas Whately, resumed the quest for colonial revenue which ultimately provoked revolution in America.

There are additional benefits in the book outside the author's central thesis. The conflicts of the Lord High Treasurers with the Secretaries of State for the Southern Department and with the Board of Trade are illuminating. Accounts of the sources of income for the administration of the colonies are informative. There are such side lights on British and colonial politics as patronage, lobbies, parliamentary elections, and trade policies. The ever-enlarging role of Parliament, especially in appropriating monies for colonial defense, suggests that the policies after 1763 had more precedent and represented a greater continuity than hitherto had been suspected.

Miss Clark has done thorough research in the sources and has produced a well-written, authoritative book.

*University of Illinois*

RAYMOND P. STEARNS

MR. SECRETARY PEEL: THE LIFE OF SIR ROBERT PEEL TO 1830. By *Norman Gash*. (London: Longmans; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1961. Pp. xiv, 693. \$12.50.)

PROFESSOR Gash has drawn a flattering portrait of Sir Robert Peel as secretary. It is, of course, no pious Victorian memoir, but rather an admiring biography in the twentieth-century manner. Based on thorough research and full of careful judgments, it emphasizes the limitations which politics place on statesmen, invokes the differing standards of another age, and enters empathetically into Peel's inner feelings at every crisis. These virtues, the virtues of sympathetic understanding, add real depth to Gash's study of Peel.

Such virtues are certainly needed in an assessment of Peel, as they are of any able and conscientious statesman who, in times of rapid social change, hold steadfastly to conservative beliefs. There is even something heroic in such men doing so, a fact that Gash unconsciously brings out in his lengthy account of Peel as Chief Secretary to Ireland from 1812 to 1818 and as Home Secretary in England for most of the 1820's. In both positions Peel faced turbulent forces demanding change, and in both countries he resisted them with resolute firmness tempered by a moderate paternalism. In Ireland he opposed giving Catholics the right to sit in Parliament or to hold civil offices, and he suppressed their political associations, but he gave them a remarkably efficient and honest government. As Home Secretary in England, while suppressing political agitations and opposing parliamentary reform, he made brilliant reforms in law and police. In ruling Ireland and in carrying through his great law reforms Peel demonstrated that intelligence, tact, integrity, perseverance, and adroitness which won him deserved fame as a great administrator. Gash describes these achievements in considerable detail and with much sympathy.

That sympathetic understanding which underlies the excellence of Gash's study is often unchecked by its necessary antidote, critical judgment. He occasionally presents a one-sided picture. He announces, for example, that in opposing Catholic emancipation in 1827 Peel "was right" and the liberals "were wrong." The author, to be sure, was referring to the liberals' prediction that emancipation would bring peace to Ireland and Peel's claim that it would not. But the issue of Catholic emancipation had other aspects, including the claims of simple justice, and these he omits. The result is that the reader largely remembers the prominent conclusion about Peel and the liberals on emancipation in 1827: "He was right, they were wrong." That Peel suddenly supported Catholic emancipation in 1829 because it would keep peace in Ireland, Gash takes in his stride.

He also occasionally exaggerates Peel's virtues. "His instinct, as always," he writes, "was to ascertain the facts and draw the right conclusions." That Peel always drew the right conclusions will surprise those who remember his opposition to the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, to Catholic emancipation, and to parliamentary reform or his support of the Six Acts, the Corn Law, and capital

punishment for thieves who stole more than five pounds. It is hard to make a hero of a statesman with that record. And though Gash is to be commended for employing sympathetic understanding to draw out much in Peel's complex nature which more critical studies have missed, it is still difficult to escape Walter Bagehot's telling judgment that Peel had "the powers of a first-rate man and the creed of a second-rate man."

*Dartmouth College*

DAVID ROBERTS

FROM THE DREADNOUGHT TO SCAPA FLOW: THE ROYAL NAVY IN THE FISHER ERA, 1904-1919. Volume I, THE ROAD TO WAR, 1904-1914. By *Arthur J. Marder*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xxii, 458. \$10.00.)

THIS book is a continuation of the author's *The Anatomy of British Sea Power, 1880-1905*, published in 1940. Mr. Marder had access to the Royal Archives at Windsor, the archives of the British Admiralty, the German Ministry of Marine, and the United States Navy, and the personal papers of many admirals and some politicians; apparently nothing has been kept from him, and the story he presents will not have to be retold. It has been checked by many navy officers, civilian officials, and professional historians. The reviewer read the book with peculiar interest because his own first book, published forty-five years ago, dealt with the same general theme—Anglo-German naval rivalry—but he had no archives, no documents, and no memoirs at his disposal. The two books illustrate perfectly the difference between contemporary history and history of the same period written a generation later when archives have been opened and private papers made available.

The keynote of Marder's volume is to be found in the subtitle, *The Fisher Era*. Although Sir John Fisher (later Lord Fisher of Kilverstone) was in power during less than half of the years covered, his policies dominated the entire period; when he was not in office, he was very much in the wings. He accomplished this partly by sheer force of personality (there has been no naval officer like him before or since), but also because the things he did were necessary if Britain was to fight Germany successfully, and Fisher was absolutely convinced that war between them was inevitable. The low state of the British navy when Fisher took over in 1904 would be incredible if Marder were not able to cite unimpeachable evidence of its decay. Though not uncritical, Marder defends the various reforms put through by Fisher, notably the scrapping of antique and useless ships, the building of the *Dreadnought*, the concentration in the North Sea, and so on. Inevitably, these ruthless changes aroused intense opposition among conservative admirals and politicians, and the friction came to a head in the famous quarrel between Fisher and Admiral Lord Charles Beresford, in which Marder clearly sides with Fisher. But Fisher's victory was Pyrrhic, for he was practically forced to resign in Janu-

ary 1910, and from then to 1914 the King's Navy was ruled not by the First Sea Lord, but by the First Lords, first, Reginald McKenna and then Winston Churchill. Happily, they were Fisher men. Fisher's retirement had one important consequence. He was strongly opposed to sending a British army to France (he wanted to land on the shore of Pomerania); only in 1911 were the details worked out between the British and French general staffs which went into effect in 1914.

The British navy went to war in 1914 completely confident of its superiority over the German. Its deficiencies, as put together by Marder, must make painful reading for British patriots. The admirals, with a few exceptions, were mediocre; their tactical doctrine was antiquated; they fully expected the German fleet to come out to fight. The war was to show that the German dreadnoughts were better designed than the British, that German gunnery was superior, that German shells were more penetrating. British torpedoes were not entirely satisfactory, but the mines were "out-and-out inefficient." On July 14, 1914, Admiral Jellicoe, the commander in chief designate, called attention to the "very striking" inferiority in the protection of British battleships against guns and torpedoes, which no doubt helped explain his caution at the Battle of Jutland. Why, then, did the Germans, with their superior matériel, fail to win? Because, according to Marder, of their "sense of inferiority" and because the German admirals were also poor. "It was not until Scheer succeeded Pohl in 1916 that the Germans had a truly able fleet commander." Tirpitz did not comprehend the possibilities until January 1915, six months after the war started.

On the political side, Marder studies at length the negotiations undertaken more than once for a naval agreement between Britain and Germany and has no difficulty in demonstrating that from the beginning there was no prospect of success. Tirpitz was persuaded that British hostility to Germany was based on commercial jealousy and that Germany must build a fleet so strong that Britain would not attempt to destroy its commercial rival; hence he would never make the concessions necessary to satisfy the British. Marder has failed to discover the existence of any plans for a British attack on Germany, but the German navy did represent "danger to England's security." "The naval rivalry did not cause the war; but it ensured that when war did break out, Great Britain would be on the side of Germany's enemies." It could not be better put. Marder is to be congratulated on his closely reasoned, convincing, and readable book. His second volume for the years 1914-1919 will be awaited with eagerness.

*Alexandria, Virginia*

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

THE SUPREME COMMAND, 1914-1918. In two volumes. By *Lord Hankey*. (London: George Allen and Unwin; distrib. by Macmillan Company, New York. 1961. Pp. xiv, 435; viii, 440-906. \$19.00 the set.)

THIS is one of the most important books yet written about the First World

War. Maurice P. A. Hankey (later Sir Maurice and then Lord Hankey) joined the British navy in 1898 as a subaltern of marines and retired as a lieutenant colonel in 1918. In 1908 he was appointed assistant secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defence and in 1912 he became its secretary, serving until 1938. He was secretary of the cabinet from 1916 to 1938, and during the years of the war, secretary of the War Cabinet and the Imperial War Cabinet. His book is an account, told from official documents and his own diary, of how Britain prepared for war from 1905 to 1914 and of the conduct of the war, at the highest political level. No other work covers the ground so fully, for Hankey "knew everything" (Winston Churchill) and has apparently omitted nothing. But he was much more than a recorder of minutes. He constantly drafted memoranda for the CID and for the cabinet, making innumerable suggestions which were usually acted on and putting together in clear-cut fashion all the many factors that entered into a given situation. He was nearly a sponsor of the Dardanelles expedition, of the tank, and of the convoy system, to give only a few examples. He was an excellent linguist (French, Italian, and Greek), a superb draftsman, and a skilled manager of men, getting on well with people so diverse as Asquith and Lloyd George, Sir William Robertson and Sir Henry Wilson, not to mention Clemenceau, Foch, and Pétain. Balfour's judgment that "without Hankey we should not have won the war" may well be correct.

For the years down to 1914 Lord Hankey provides the political side of the story told by Professor Marder of the reorganization of the navy by Sir John Fisher (*From the Dreadnought to Scapa Flow*, Volume I). Down to the Agadir crisis of 1911, the military and naval plans were "worked out almost in complete isolation," the navy being opposed to sending an army to France, for it expected to defeat the German fleet and then bring Germany down by blockade. For this reason Hankey was strongly opposed to the Declaration of London. He was chiefly responsible for the War Book, thanks to which "from the king to the printer, every one knew what he had to do." Fisher predicted that war with Germany would come in 1914, but he was the only one who said this to Hankey. There was no stock-piling of any kind before 1914 because "the general view . . . was that a long war had become an economic impossibility"; likewise "it had been assumed at the War Office that a European war would not be of long duration."

At the beginning of the war the cabinet consisted of twenty-two members, which was clearly too large a body for effective conduct of the war. In November 1914 Asquith set up a war council, including Balfour, the leader of the opposition. It began with eight members and by March 1915 had reached thirteen. In November 1915 it was replaced by a war committee which began with three members, but soon reached seven. It was, however, a step forward, for Hankey was appointed secretary and applied his talent for coordination. But it too fell apart, and Asquith, whom Hankey much admired, gave way to Lloyd George, whose

War Cabinet of five members finally provided the machinery for winning the war, with Hankey, of course, being secretary. Hankey's story of the politics involved in the shift of 1916 does not add much to what is known, except to make clear that Lloyd George was quite willing for Asquith to remain Prime Minister and lead Parliament, provided he, Lloyd George, was given full power to run the war. Asquith at one point agreed to this, and then reneged. Lloyd George, says Hankey, possessed an "extraordinary sense of power and strength, such as I have never encountered in any other."

The greatest issue faced by Lloyd George was the struggle with the generals. Neither he nor the War Cabinet believed in the war of attrition advocated and fought by Haig, Robertson, and Wilson, but, as Hankey remarks many times, they could not find a general who would recommend any other policy. They wished to send British heavy guns to the Italian front and try for a decision there, but the "westerners" would not hear of it, and the War Cabinet recognized the folly of asking generals to carry out a plan to which they were opposed. In the end, Lloyd George did remove Robertson as chief of staff, and he did pave the way for Foch as commander in chief.

Lord Hankey is not very appreciative of the United States. In 1914 he was annoyed by American efforts to obtain acceptance of the Declaration of London. In 1915 when House appeared to promote a compromise on the freedom of the seas, which Hankey regarded as "a pet fad" of the Colonel's, Hankey was aghast at the willingness of Sir Edward Grey to listen. In 1916 when House came again and worked out his famous plan with Grey for "probable" American intervention, Hankey quoted with approval Asquith's remark that the plan was "humbug." Wilson's Fourteen Points are described as "the American President's screed."

At the beginning of 1918 military and political opinion in both Britain and France was convinced that the war would go on until 1919. In the end, Hankey recognizes that the fresh American armies enabled Foch to win in 1918.

Only a very long review could do justice to the innumerable points about the war of 1914-1918 illuminated by this volume, which is indeed indispensable to anyone wishing to know what happened during those memorable years.

*Alexandria, Virginia*

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION. By *Leonard Stein*. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1961. Pp. xiv, 681. \$7.50.)

MR. Leonard Stein, a graduate of Oxford University and an English lawyer, has for many years been political secretary, and then an adviser, of the World Zionist Organization. He was intimately connected with the leading personalities of British and of Zionist political life in the 1920's. He has now written an authoritative and probably definitive study of the origins, backgrounds, and immediate controversies involving the famous declaration of November 2, 1917, through



which Arthur Balfour, on behalf of the British government, expressed the latter's "sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations." Stein had access to many personalities connected with the declaration and to a number of unpublished letters and diaries. Though the author has for half a century been an active and dedicated Zionist, his book is written with typically British scholarly restraint and objectivity.

The history of the modern Zionist movement began in 1897 with the First Zionist Congress at Basle. Twenty years later it received in the Balfour Declaration an official recognition. Britain was the first power showing some serious interest in Zionism, an interest not unrelated to competition between it and France for the control of Palestine. At that time the Zionists strongly preferred British to French ties because they feared that French administration would be inimical to the development of a distinctive Jewish culture and way of life.

It is interesting to follow the discussion about the wording of the declaration. The Zionist draft of July 1917 demanded that Britain "accepts the principle that Palestine should be reconstituted as *the* national home of the Jewish people," and that it should "discuss the necessary methods and means with the Zionist Organization." The final text promised only that Britain would view with favor "the establishment *in* Palestine of *a* national home for the Jewish people and use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object." Any reference to cooperation with the Zionist Organization was suppressed. Instead it was emphasized "that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

Originally Britain did not link the declaration with a claim to permanent control of Palestine. Many British favored an American protectorate for the country. Finally the British solution prevailed. Lord Curzon supported it for strategic (Suez Canal) and political reasons. "Ought we not," he asked, "to try and keep the Arabs of Palestine in close touch with the Arabs of the country both to the east and to the north? If you, so to speak, segregate them under the charge of a separate Power which has no interest in those regions, you will really sterilize them and arrest their growth." An official Zionist spokesman, Harry Sacher, pointed out that the American concept of democracy would be inapplicable to Palestine with its large Arab majority. "It would not be to the advantage of a Jewish Palestine," Sacher continued, "to compel Jews to intervene on its account in American domestic politics in order to avert the dangers that might arise out of American internal tendencies."

In 1917 the Arab question played only a minor role. The Zionists gave every assurance that they were not thinking of a Palestine "to be cleared of Arabs and monopolized by Jews." The British government declared that it was determined that no obstacle should be put in the way of the realization of the Zionist ideal, in so far as was compatible with the freedom of the existing population, both economic and political, and that it was assured by the Zionists of their firm reso-



lution to bring about the success of the movement by friendship and cooperation with the Arabs. Notwithstanding these declarations, the Arabs remained fearful that Zionism might be realized to their detriment and that they might be ousted from their country. But before that could happen, thirty more years had to pass with all the consequences which Hitler's racialism involved and which no one in 1917 foresaw.

*City College of New York*

HANS KOHN

INTRODUCTION À LA FRANCE MODERNE (1500-1640): ESSAI DE PSYCHOLOGIE HISTORIQUE. By *Robert Mandrou*. [L'évolution de l'humanité, Bibliothèque de synthèse historique, Volume LII. Third Section, Le monde moderne, Part 3.] (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1961. Pp. xxv, 400. 21 new fr.)

IN this brilliant effort to answer the kinds of questions posed by Lucien Febvre, Robert Mandrou starts with the notion that the Frenchman of this period was a different man, standing somewhere between the subject of Saint Louis and that citizen created by the French Revolution. What makes this a vital historical work is the way in which Mandrou establishes this fact of difference. He does not begin by assuming a *Weltanschauung* for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Instead he constructs a mind for this age as the sum of a thousand separate responses, the way Frenchmen thought of their religion, their death, and their diet. The physical and mental life of the individual comes alive, the portrait of a Frenchman recognizable to the student of national character yet clearly definable in time emerges. To get at this fact of difference, Mandrou begins his study with the individual. He confronts this individual with those solid elements, such as class, which resist the individual while providing continuity for society. He then examines the types of human activity possible for the individual faced with these natural resistances. Out of this analysis emerges a characterization of the mental structure of the Frenchman of this period, "emotional, socially aggressive, incapable of dominating the natural world and a spiritual and intellectual confidence in an all-powerful divinity."

The strength of this study lies in its details, and it is through them that we realize that we are dealing with a different Frenchman. The peasant who cuts a cross in his bread before serving it presents us with a world in which underfeeding and religion are facts of life. When we examine the sixteenth-century conception of disease, we are examining an idea in flight. Frenchmen are caught between the new science and the old superstition, and we see the strange mixture of science, popular tradition, and the sanction of the Church producing the curious pragmatism of trying each and every cure. Always Mandrou is alert to those areas which will distinguish his Frenchman from the rest. We see the primacy of the ear over the eye, the absence of physical description in literature, the importance of music

and sermons in a preliterate age, the domination of the sense of touch as in the religious and royal touch. Even in those areas where we would imagine the greatest continuity, we are made to see that the fears of this world—the closeness of death, the fear of night, the imminence of famine—are not our fears or not in the same measure. When we encounter resemblances and recognize Frenchmen, we are made aware of the nuances that still set them apart. The demographic problem was as real for the sixteenth century as it is for the twentieth, but the Frenchman of the earlier century was not aware of demography. Then as now the relation of France to her neighbors was complicated by language. The Frenchman was beginning to see the importance of learning modern languages rather than Latin, but again Mandrou reminds us that foreign languages were not yet seen as a cultural resource but only as a means for commercial advantage.

*Yale University*

STANLEY MELLON

FRANTSHIA V NACHALE XVII VEKA (1610–1620 gg.) [France at the Beginning of the 17th Century (1610–1620)]. By *A. D. Liublinskaia*. (Leningrad: Leningrad University Press. 1959. Pp. 292. 17 rubles.)

IN preparing her work on the history of France under the administration of Richelieu, A. D. Liublinskaia noted the special significance of the decade 1610–1620 for the development of French absolutism and social order; thus the introduction to her main study has grown into a separate inquiry. Historians all too often accord only a perfunctory treatment to this period, the general consensus being that statesmanship was in abeyance until the advent of Richelieu and that the civil commotions were drab and meaningless compared with the Wars of Religion. Mrs. Liublinskaia's book is based on an intensive investigation of sources. Chief among these are the Villeroy papers, the Léon papers, and other French manuscripts in the Public Library at Leningrad, supplemented by many photographic reproductions from France, not to mention virtually all the existing printed materials.

After analyzing the social structure of France under Henry IV, the author traces the struggles between political factions, especially during the five civil wars in 1614–1620. The efforts of the *grands* to curb or to seize the central government were frustrated not only by disunity in their own ranks, but even more by their inability to carry out their program without the support of some other group or groups—the old military nobility, the new nobles, the parlements, the officialdom, the Huguenot party, the city governments, the “people,” and foreign powers. As the princely faction tried to enlist the support now of this, now of that group, the governments of Marie de Medici and Louis XIII consistently strove to isolate the princes by satisfying at least some of the aspirations of their potential allies. The *grands* were no longer able to rouse any large part of the populace, as they had done in the Wars of Religion, and, in the war of 1620, even many of their noble

followers deserted to the King. Having beaten off the attacks of the princes, the royal government was now ready for a counteroffensive against the Huguenot state within France.

The author gives a clear account of the extremely complex political maneuvers of the contending factions by tying them in with their social context. In doing so, and this is the most important original contribution of the book, she brings out a striking continuity between the policies of Henry IV, the "Barbons" (Sillery, Ville-roy, Jeannin), and Richelieu; the episode of Concini's career is cut down to size, while the "Barbons" grow in stature as clear-sighted statesmen; and the Spanish alliance is shown for what it really was: not an abject surrender to Madrid, and later to Vienna, but a successful attempt to cut off the chief enemies of royal power within France from their support from abroad.

This book's main weakness is the frequent use of rigid Marxist categories, which are at best anachronistic when imposed on the seventeenth century. Abstractions like "the bourgeoisie" or "absolutism" are endowed with life: they engage in conscious, sustained, and far-sighted activity in pursuit of economic class interests. Yet the author knows the seventeenth century too well not to show, usually by implication, and sometimes explicitly, that the rules she so faithfully follows on most of her pages are not always valid. The personal character of the protagonists receives very little attention. In her analysis of the political struggles, the author consistently plays down or even ignores the role of nonsocioeconomic forces, like the complex Catholic revival and the resurgence of parliamentary and of episcopal Gallicanism. These defects, however, need not obscure the real and solid contributions of the book.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

ANDREW LOSSKY

LES ORIGINES DE LA CONCEPTION MODERNE DE L'HOMME-MACHINE. LE PROBLÈME DE L'ÂME EN FRANCE À LA FIN DU REGNE DE LOUIS XIV (1670-1715): ÉTUDE SUR L'HISTOIRE DES IDÉES. By *Heikki Kirkinen*. [Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia, Series B, Number 122.] (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia. 1960. Pp. 518. 2,500 mk.)

In his *Crise de la conscience européenne* Hazard remarked, "La majorité des Français pensait comme Bossuet; tout d'un coup, les Français pensent comme Voltaire; c'est un révolution." While the Enlightenment in full flood has not lost its attraction, an increasing number of scholars have sought to explicate what happened "tout d'un coup" and have carefully examined the slow changing of intellectual tides between Bossuet and Voltaire. With a critical awareness of the work done before him, Kirkinen has written a study that fulfills the promise of its title and considerably illuminates a fundamental aspect of the "revolution" which was taken for granted by most of Voltaire's contemporaries.

The author marshals theologians, philosophers, physicians, and mystics, with their various answers to the questions: What is man? What is the nature of his soul, what relationship (if any) does his soul have with his body, and with his capacities to feel, think, know, and make self-conscious choices? As each aspect of man's nature is examined, Kirkinen shows that some fairly persistent schools of thought contending the field were Aristotelianism, Neoplatonism, and Scholasticism, with a revived Epicureanism a strong latecomer. Every thinker cited seems obliged to cope with the impasse of Cartesian dualism and with the new currents of empiricism; for some Leibniz or Spinoza remained to be refuted or absorbed, and for others anatomical studies or observation of "primitive" peoples provided the philosopher's stone. Empiricism notwithstanding, their work remains philosophical psychology; regardless of their disagreements, it is evident that everyone cited here has profound confidence in sheer ratiocination. Indeed, it is one of the minor defects of this book that the ideas discussed, exciting as they are in their own right, remain disembodied entities with no apparent relation to the social or political fabric of the time. It is clear that the author is aware of the momentous changes the shifts in ideas will bring about, but he leaves the reader to make the connections.

Although more than a few of the positions discussed are now outmoded, and each had its share of inconsistencies, Kirkinen treats each with an evenhanded sympathy. As he probes the development of each school of thought, two facts become clear: in spite of disagreements, each position became more eclectic as time went on, and all positions tended to view man as "mechanism" whether the end result was pious skepticism, occasionalism, or fuel for the libertines.

Upon finishing this book, one has a clearer understanding of the intellectual background of such men as La Mettrie and Condillac, as well as Voltaire. Aside from this work's illumination of the problems of the later eighteenth century, it seems clear that the sophisticated materialist position has not been much improved upon since 1715, and in this respect it elucidates a major segment of our current world view. Sober and thorough in treatment, this work is not likely to be replaced very soon.

*Michigan State University*

STANLEY J. IDZERDA

MONTESQUIEU: A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY. By *Robert Shackleton*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 432. \$7.20.)

CURIOUSLY enough, there is no full-length biography and general study of Montesquieu in English, though his importance in political philosophy and his influence on the thought of statesmen has been great. Robert Shackleton of Oxford has now filled this void and done an outstanding piece of work. Shackleton was eminently qualified for this task by his years of study of the eighteenth century and his noteworthy contributions to research on Montesquieu. Furthermore, his

scholarly eminence and personal charm have won him admission to family archives hitherto closed to investigators. The result is an account of Montesquieu's life and an intimate portrait of his personality more complete and authoritative than any other, in any language. Montesquieu's life does not have the dramatic interest of such other eighteenth-century figures as Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, Beaumarchais, nor is his personality colorful, complex, and fascinating, like theirs. It is, then, more to the author's credit that he has been able to make his subject live. We have, in short, a biography in the solid British tradition, scholarly, thoughtful, written with simplicity and elegance, and without any attempt at "effects."

Shackleton disclaims any intention of analyzing or evaluating Montesquieu's philosophy. This is modesty carried to excess. It is true that there is more complexity and controversy than the biographer's space allows. Nonetheless, the analysis of the major writings is of a high order. The essential background and contributions of the *Lettres persanes* are brought out, even though the richness of this masterpiece deserves a fuller treatment. With the *Considérations sur les Romains*, we have a newly documented account of the circumstances and growth of the work, and a fresh study of its place in the historical tradition. The 150-page discussion of the *Esprit des lois* is consistently enlightening and sharply focused. After a chapter on the composition of the work, Shackleton contributes the best analysis that has yet been made of natural law in Montesquieu, and of his relation to Cartesianism and Spinozism. Other chapters on the theory of governments, liberty, climate, and causes, the history of laws, and religion are precise and intelligent, containing many insights into Montesquieu's intentions and the meaning and significance of his ideas.

There are two questions which one would have liked to see treated. One is a comparison of pertinent aspects of Montesquieu's political thought to that of other great French theorists of the eighteenth century, notably Rousseau and Mably. An analytical comparison of his concepts of liberty with those of Rousseau, for instance, would have been most fruitful. The second is the hostility of the other philosophes to Montesquieu's general approach and to many of his ideas. A study of these matters would have given us a better perspective on the place of Montesquieu in the eighteenth century. It remains, however, that Shackleton's biography is now the one work on Montesquieu which all libraries must have and all students must consult before any other. In its scholarship, depth of understanding, and readability, it is an impressive work.

Western Reserve University

LESTER G. CROCKER

LA CONTRE-RÉVOLUTION: DOCTRINE ET ACTION, 1789-1804. By Jacques Godechot. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1961. Pp. 426. 24 new fr.)

It is impossible to reach a fair understanding of the French Revolution without

making due allowance for the strength, composition, and purposes of those who opposed it at the time, and who themselves used the term counterrevolution to signify their efforts. The counterrevolution nevertheless has remained, in Alfred Cobban's words, the "biggest gap" in the history of the Revolution. As a step toward more intensive studies to fill this gap, Professor Godechot has given us this systematic survey, written with the lucidity and comprehensiveness for which he is known, and drawing on his wide knowledge of the sporadic literature on the subject. It is an extremely useful book, whose value lies in enabling the reader, each according to his own background, to see what may be already familiar side by side with matters closely related but often quite unknown.

The book is in two parts. First comes a succession of chapters on some twenty theorists, including the Abbé Maury, Burke, Barruel, Mallet du Pan, Herder, Gentz, De Maistre, Bonald, and Chateaubriand. Realistic political conservatives are distinguished from the theocrats, doctrinaires, traditionalists, and popularizers of the conspiratorial theory of revolution. It is observed that these practical conservatives, such as Mallet du Pan and the *Monarchiens* of 1789, in many ways anticipated the settlement of 1814 better than anyone else, but that under pressure of events in the 1790's they remained the least heard and tended toward a reluctant alliance with the true reactionaries.

The second part, dealing with "action," will prove even more illuminating, since many of the events which it recounts were secret and are difficult to document: the career and views of Louis XVIII and the *émigrés*, spy systems, information networks, conspiracies against the successive governments in France, aristocratic and international plots, electoral campaigns under the Directory, and, above all, peasant insurrections, not only the Vendée and subsequent troubles in France, but agrarian revolts against the new revolutionary dispensation in Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, for which the San Fedist movement is well described.

Godechot thinks that from the death of Robespierre to the establishment of the Consulate there was a touch-and-go situation, in which some kind of counter-revolutionary victory was within the realm of practical possibility. It might have succeeded if Louis XVII had lived, if absolutist and constitutional monarchists had been able to tolerate each other, if plots, insurrections, and military action had been better synchronized, or if the Revolution itself had not shown such strength. The author also comments (and it is his most fertile new idea) on the astonishing lack of connection between theory and social reality in the counterrevolution. In social reality, it was only among the peasants in France, Italy, or Belgium that a popular movement against the French and "sister" republics could be recruited. Cardinal Ruffo saw this in Italy. But it does not seem to have occurred to the great thinkers of the counterrevolution, in their plans for the good society, to offer any concessions or even to look for friends, as distinct from tenants, among the agricultural population.

*Princeton University*

R. R. PALMER

BISMARCKS AUFSTIEG, 1815-1864. By *Ludwig Reiners*. (2d ed.; Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1958. Pp. viii, 475. DM 14.50.)

BISMARCK GRÜNDET DAS REICH, 1864-1871. By *Ludwig Reiners*. (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1957. Pp. x, 550. DM 18.)

LUDWIG Reiners combined a career in business with prolific literary activity, impressive both in its variety and its quality. His publications include a comprehensive anthology of German verse, several incisive essays and one large book on prose style, a biography of Frederick the Great, an account of the origins of the First World War, and, finally, two volumes of a projected three-volume biography of Bismarck. The last was the most ambitious of his undertakings, and his success with it was mixed. Most scholars will be critical of it; the general reader will find it entertaining and rewarding.

In electing to write another work on the great Chancellor, Reiners seems to have been motivated by irritation over the highly critical tone of some of the early post-1945 Bismarck literature as represented by writers like Robert Saitschik. The picture that emerged from some of these works was, he writes, "just as unreal as the *Denkmalpopanz* of the Pan-Germans. . . . In America such controversial figures as Washington and Lincoln have become the common possession of all. Should it not be part of the task of German historiography to spread the picture of the real Bismarck among the German people. . . ?"

To Reiners the "real Bismarck" was the diplomatic genius who "wanted to unite Germany without conflict—and almost succeeded in doing so," the European statesman who felt a responsibility for maintaining the peace of the Continent, the man of measure and proportion in all his creative works, and the stylist who "wrote the most beautiful German prose of his century and who on all occasions revealed to the world a fund of unexpected and original humor for which we would look in vain among his opponents." The emphasis that the author places upon these aspects of Bismarck's career is perfectly justifiable, or would be if it was balanced by some examination of other traits of the Minister President and some consideration of the salient criticisms of his statecraft. This the reader will not find here.

Indeed, Reiners is so partisan in his views that he finds it difficult to be fair to Bismarck's contemporary opponents, who are generally portrayed as being shortsighted or misled; and he so admires Bismarck's success as a statesman that it does not occur to him to ask whether it might not have been dearly bought. His account of the constitutional crisis of the 1860's hardly does justice to the position of the liberal opposition and would profit from some attention to the data assembled in Eugene Anderson's study of that conflict. His account of Bismarck's tactics in the period before the Austrian war, the Luxemburg affair, and the origins of the war with France is curiously defensive, and he comes close to exculpating Bismarck from any responsibility for the wars of 1866 and 1870. Indeed, as his second volume closes, he has become almost belligerent in his defense



of his hero, and he does not hesitate to say that "if we compare Bismarck with statesmen who wrestled with similar problems, with Cromwell or Richelieu, Cavour or Lincoln, Napoleon I or Schwarzenberg, or if we compare him with contemporaries like Napoleon III, Palmerston or Disraeli, we see that Bismarck chose his means with a far greater sense of responsibility than they."

Apart from all this, these are comprehensive and readable volumes which deserve a place in the reading lists of graduate students in German history. Reiners has allowed Bismarck to speak for himself, sometimes, as in the chapters dealing with his youth, courtship, and early career, for pages at a time; this has the advantage of giving the reader a sense of the political and literary style of the Minister President in the years when his anti-Austrian policy was unfolding. All the best Bismarck anecdotes are here, and many that are not so well known as to be hackneyed. Episodes of major importance in Bismarck's career—the story of his appointment and that of his difficulties with the soldiers in 1866 and 1870, for instance—are told with rich detail. The portraits of the lesser figures on the historical scene are well done, if not entirely without malice; here again Reiners' interest in style finds expression, particularly in an amusing discussion of *Kitsch* in the writings of Prokesch-Osten, Bismarck's opponent at Frankfurt in the 1850's. The occasional errors of fact and the misquotation of Grillparzer's "Ode to Radetzky" are minor flaws in a book which, granted its bias, is a spirited performance.

Stanford University

GORDON A. CRAIG

STAATSKUNST UND KRIEGSHANDWERK: DAS PROBLEM DES "MILITARISMUS" IN DEUTSCHLAND. Volume II, DIE HAUPTMÄCHTE EUROPAS UND DAS WILHELMINISCHE REICH (1890–1914). By Gerhard Ritter. (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1960. Pp. 393. DM 30.)

IN the first volume of his projected three-volume study of militarism in modern German history, Professor Ritter defined militarism as the state of affairs in which there was a preponderance of military thought and influence in the making of national policy; he illustrated the growth of military ascendancy in Germany by a careful analysis of the struggle between soldiers and civilian statesmen during the wars of liberation, the Prussian constitutional crisis, and the period of unification. In this second volume, he addresses himself to two questions. Was Germany in fact any more affected by militarism in the sense that he defines it than her continental neighbors? If so, what was the precise nature of the responsibility which German military men must bear for the coming of the First World War?

Ritter deals with the first of these questions in four perceptive chapters on civil-military relations in France, Russia, and Great Britain in the century that preceded the war; his conclusion is that, however great the friction between civilian and military agencies in those countries, the primacy of the political authority was never seriously shaken in any one of them. The threat was perhaps greatest

in France during the first years of the war, but here "the strongest support of the political agencies . . . was the merely halfway and never unambiguous success of the military commanders." In Russia there were fewer political generals than has sometimes been supposed, and "the responsible men of the army command were too conscious of the dangers of war and the secret weaknesses of their instruments of power" to advocate a policy that could be considered militaristic. The chauvinists were generally civilians. As for Great Britain, the traditional controls against excessive military influence were effective down to and during the war, and Ritter argues, in a painstaking analysis of the relations between the British and French General Staffs before 1914, that, if the British made mistakes that helped bring the war closer, these should not be laid at the door of the soldiers, but were the result of reasoned decisions by the responsible civilian statesmen.

In Germany, on the other hand, the ascendancy of the political authorities had been jeopardized even in Bismarck's time by the relatively unrestricted military prerogatives of the sovereign and the administrative arrangements that had been made in the 1880's to protect them. These last assured the military of direct and easy access to a monarch who regarded himself first and foremost as a military man. This and the fact that none of Bismarck's successors proved strong enough to counter arguments of military expediency with political considerations had much to do with the dangerous course taken by German policy before 1914.

Ritter elaborates this point in three long chapters on Germany's naval policy, Schlieffen's famous plan for a two-front war, and the role of the German and Austrian General Staffs in the immediate events that led to the war. In these chapters he is covering ground that has been much traveled, most recently by Albertini, Hubatsch, and Ritter himself (in his book on the Schlieffen Plan), but his treatment is fresh and provocative, and the judgments he passes on Tirpitz, Schlieffen, Conrad, and Moltke the younger are balanced and fair. His pages on Moltke will perhaps correct the prevalent opinion that he was merely an ineffective soldier who "watered down" Schlieffen's plan; his persuasive argument that the plan was as technically deficient as it was politically naïve should modify the excessive veneration in which Schlieffen has been held even in western service colleges. Ritter does not hesitate to say that the perfected plan of 1905 "was even more baleful for German politics than the excessiveness of our naval armament in the Tirpitz era"; considering the damaging charges he makes against Tirpitz and his policies, these are strong words.

Ritter's last chapters, with his analysis of the thinking of the German and Austrian staffs in 1914, their preoccupation with the element of time, and their fear of losing the initiative, will make fascinating but uncomfortable reading for those who, like Herman Kahn in his book *On Thermonuclear War*, see similarities between the present international situation and that of 1914. These chapters sum up the contents of the first two volumes of this monumental study and also answer the second question that Ritter posed in this volume, for the author

charges bluntly that, when the existence of the nation was at stake, the authority which the military had accumulated over the past century was used to overrule the cautionary prescriptions of the civilians and to precipitate disaster. In the moment of crisis, Ritter writes, "considerations that were purely military and technical in nature destroyed the last possibilities of compromise."

*Stanford University*

GORDON A. CRAIG

HITLER'S CONSERVATIVE OPPONENTS IN BAVARIA, 1930-1945: A STUDY OF CATHOLIC, MONARCHIST, AND SEPARATIST ANTI-NAZI ACTIVITIES. By *James Donohoe*. (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1961. Pp. xi, 348. Glds. 32.)

Who were Hitler's conservative opponents in Bavaria, and how did they manifest their opposition to the Nazi regime? These are the two questions the author seeks to answer in this well-constructed and ably researched study. He has interviewed survivors and collected significant documents, exploited the collections in the Berlin Documents Center, and made judicious use of memoir literature. The result is a sound if not brilliant work and one that is adequate for this aspect of the history of the Third Reich. An extensive bibliography shows the scope and depth of the author's investigation; approximately one-third of the volume is devoted to reproduction of such documents as court judgments, statements by accused and condemned persons, arrest lists, and broadsides circulated by resistance groups.

The study focuses on groups and persons whose politics were right of center—conservative Christians, usually Catholic, monarchists, and Bavarian separatists. Four principal centers of opposition and manifest discontent are identified and studied. The most important group was the Catholic hierarchy which was outspoken in its criticism and protests at Nazi treatment of the Catholic orders, schools, and youth organizations. This opposition, which was never completely unqualified, usually expressed itself in protests at violations of the Concordat of 1933. Loyal Catholic circles were certainly repelled by the campaign against the Church and the individual acts of persecution against the clergy, but these sentiments never crystallized in a movement of resistance or conspiracy.

While the Bavarian monarchists were more positive in their theorizing and planning, they were scarcely more effective than the clergy. Certainly they had little popular appeal. "Ineffective" is the correct word to describe the planning and plotting that took place in Munich in February 1933, with a view to restoring the monarchy as a bulwark against Nazi centralization and violence. Less well known in the monarchist context is the formation and activity of the Von Harnier circle, resulting in the arrest of 125 persons in August 1939. A third instance of active opposition examined by the author is the Munich Students' Revolt in February 1943, which resulted in the conviction and execution of Hans and Sophie Scholl,

Christoph Probst, and Professor Huber. A final brief chapter describes the abortive *Freiheits-Aktion Bayern*, an attempt to dislodge the Nazis and seize power in Bavaria as US Third Army units approached Munich. The author links this not too convincingly with the Bavarian separatist movement, although he recognizes that it sprang from the overpowering desire to end the war rather than from resistance to National Socialism. On the basis of the evidence presented here the practical results of the opposition to National Socialism in conservative Bavarian circles were slight indeed. The author contributes to our understanding of this aspect of the resistance by his emphasis upon the religious motivation of the majority of the participants. Therein may also lie the explanation of the lack of practical results. A principal conclusion established by the author is that "between Christians and Nazis there was an unbridgeable gulf."

*University of Virginia*

ORON J. HALE

STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER ÖSTERREICHISCH-UNGARISCHEN  
MONARCHIE. [Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Studia Historica, Num-  
ber 51.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1961. Pp. 524.)

THIS highly interesting volume comprises the records of a historical conference held in Budapest in 1958. All of the contributors except one represent satellite states behind the iron curtain, the majority of them being Magyars. All of them, though with different shadings of opinion, follow the Communist party line. The fact that forty years after the breakup of the Habsburg Empire a volume of this kind is still published in German is not without ironic significance.

In evaluating papers written in the Marxian totalitarian orbit, those conclusions strictly following the party line least bother the Western observer. Sometimes one feels they have been added only to conform to the necessities of the political situation. Frequently conclusions can easily be separated from a carefully organized array of historical data. Far more troublesome is the problem of definitions, which mars a free discussion of the socioeconomic issues involved in these papers. If a historian is strictly bound by Leninist definitions of imperialism, colonialism, social democratic opportunism, and class betrayal, the value of the whole paper and not only of the conclusions is seriously affected.

Of the three general topics of the volume, the economic-social structure of the Habsburg monarchy, the problems of the dualistic system, and the issues of nationalism and labor, this glaring weakness pertains especially to the first and third topic. Yet in all three groups there are papers of distinctive value showing thorough familiarity with Eastern as well as Western literature. Of the nineteen separate contributions, only a few can be mentioned. If one disregards in the socioeconomic field the repeatedly voiced dogma that any evolutionary breakaway from feudalism inevitably leads to capitalist exploitation, the following papers, largely based on original sources, are particularly interesting. A. Klima's study on the agrarian

revolution of 1848 in Bohemia, J. Mészáros' study on Slovak agricultural conditions in the second half of the nineteenth century, J. Kovács' essay on the peasant emancipation in Transylvania, and in particular L. Kattus' analysis of agricultural developments in the monarchy's southern Slav territories may be read with considerable profit.

In the field of political history, V. Sándor's discussion of the degree of Hungary's dependency from Austria in the dualistic era is probably the least orthodox contribution in its rejection of the slogans of semicolonial suppression. To a point it is remarkably free from hostility against the Danube monarchy. Also thorough and interesting is P. Hanák's study on the crisis of dualism at the end of the nineteenth century. While one may well see its beginnings right after the Franco-Prussian Wars, Hanák marshals a large number of well-arranged facts with a particularly interesting analysis of the role of Magyar bureaucracy.

The papers on the nationality problem and the labor movement (not necessarily a compelling combination) are on the whole more biased than the others except, by degree, E. Arató's extremely interesting comparative study on the pattern of "national suppression" in the Ottoman Empire, Prussia, tsarist Russia, imperial Austria, and royal Hungary. Turkey, followed by Russia and Prussia, comes out worst, Prussia holds the middle ground, while Hungary and Austria, chiefly owing to the numerical weakness of the ruling national groups, are considered far less harshly than the others. Still, Hungary is judged severely in this respect.

In this volume imperial Austria is no longer the chief villain of nineteenth-century political and national oppression. A more important and truly tragic reflection reveals that only the entrenchment of Communist tyranny has put an end to the frequent smug self-satisfaction of official Magyar historiography in the treatment of the nationality question in royal Hungary.

*Rutgers University*

ROBERT A. KANN

ÖSTERREICH UND DER VATIKAN, 1846-1918. Volume II, DIE PONTIFIKATE PIUS' X. UND BENEDIKTS XV. (1903-1918). By *Friedrich Engel-Janosi*. (Graz: Verlag Styria. 1960. Pp. xxiv, 420.)

This work, the second and final volume of Engel-Janosi's monumental study of relations between the Vatican and the Habsburg Empire from the beginning of the pontificate of Pius IX until the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, is a fine example of the type of thorough, exhaustive, objective, scholarly research popularized in Germany and elsewhere by Leopold von Ranke. Although there are occasional references to published sources like newspaper articles, Pastor's diary, and special monographs, the author has drawn the bulk of his material from the *Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv*. He has also examined important documents in the secret Vatican archives and pertinent sources in the *Staatsarchiv* in Prague and

in a few private family collections. He has limited his study to diplomatic relations between Austria and the Vatican and to the political affairs that influenced them. He has devoted considerable attention to the activities and reports of the Austrian diplomatic representatives at the Vatican during this period: Count Friedrich Revertera-Salandra, Count Nikolaus Szécsen von Temerin, and Prince Johann Schönburg-Hartenstein.

In contrast to the acute tensions which at times marred relations between the Vatican and the Habsburg government during the period covered in the author's first volume, the pontificates of Pius X and Benedict XV were characterized by mutual tact and sympathy, peace and harmony. Austria was a strong champion of the religious and political independence of the papacy, while the Papal Curia, deeply perturbed about the future of the Habsburg monarchy, worked hard to try to preserve the integrity of the "last Catholic Great Power in Europe." In order to restrain the Slavs in the monarchy from turning the Catholic Church into a nationalistic weapon, the Vatican exerted pressure to hinder any further extension of the use of the old Slavic Church language. In 1914 the papacy took the position that the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was fighting a just war and that Serbian national extremism had to be checked. The next year the Vatican tried to prevent Italy from going to war against the Central Powers. Had the Pope's efforts to bring the war to an end been successful, the fate of the Habsburg monarchy would have been vastly different from what it was in 1918.

The author does not maintain that the Papal Curia never had occasion to criticize Austrian actions between 1903 and 1918. There were loud objections to the Austrian emperor's veto of the candidacy of Cardinal Rampolla during the conclave of 1903. Furthermore, minor differences arose between the two over the Kohn, Samossa, Wahrmond, and Feilbogen "affairs." On the whole, however, relations between the two were marked with unusual cordiality throughout the period under consideration.

Engel-Janosi's intimate familiarity and sympathy with his subject are evident throughout the volume. In fact, bitter enemies of the papacy and of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy will have little reason to find comfort in much that he says. Must a historian, however, rigorously suppress all evidence of sympathy with the subject of his investigation? Are not Leopold von Ranke's strong monarchist predilections and religious and moral convictions reflected in many of the pages which he wrote?

*University of Texas*

R. JOHN RATH

L'EUROPE CENTRALE: ÉVOLUTION HISTORIQUE DE L'IDÉE DE "MITTELEUROPA." By *Jacques Droz*. [Bibliothèque Historique.] (Paris: Payot. 1960. Pp. 283. 16 new fr.)

WHEN Henry Cord Meyer published his *Mittleuropa in German Thought*



and *Action 1815-1945* (1955), he made the surprising contention that there was no real *Mitteleuropa* movement before the First World War. In retrospect it would seem that his position stemmed from two tendencies: making the term almost synonymous with Friedrich Naumann's proposals and looking at things from the viewpoint of the German Empire rather than that of Austria-Hungary.

Professor Droz's conception is as broad as Meyer's was narrow, his purpose being, as he puts it, to study "the moral forces which opposed the revolutionary and dissolving action of the principle of nationalities." His vantage point is Vienna more than Berlin. Accordingly he devotes fully half of his book to the period before 1867, contributing excellent chapters on Friedrich List, the Revolution of 1848, the opponents of Bismarck, and the federal movement in Austria in the 1860's. Here the reader can feel the economic and intellectual vitality of the 1840's and come to understand why the Austrian monarchy survived the holocaust of 1848, despite the author's occasional tendency to confuse centripetal forces with plain stalemates of disruptive forces, as, for example, in the Croatian support of the crown against the Hungarians. The analysis of the writings of Edmund Jörg, Julius Fröbel, and Konstantin Frantz is penetrating, and the advantages of the conservative but federalistic Diploma over the liberal but centralistic Patent are convincingly demonstrated.

After 1867 Droz agrees with Meyer that the *Mitteleuropa* movement was eclipsed until the war. Hence his chapter on the nationality problem in the Dual Monarchy, though penetrating, is only indirectly related to the theme of the book. On the other hand, the Berlin to Baghdad schemes of Ernst Jäckh and Paul Rohrbach he does not treat at all. A full chapter on Naumann rightly portrays him as a great humanitarian reformer, while the final chapter describes the tragic consequences of the Balkanization of Europe and wisely counsels against the fallacy of seeing a Nazi behind every attempt to eliminate the chaos. Droz concludes that nationalism is an inadequate principle on which to try to organize Central Europe—or all Europe, for that matter.

What the book lacks in originality it makes up in wisdom, a sense of proportion, and a wide grasp of at least the French, English, and German literature on the subject. It is not therefore in a spirit of faultfinding that one wonders if we have not already come as far as we can with this subject in the realm of *Ideengeschichte*. One misses, for example, anything comparable to the fine chapters in Meyer on actual German economic penetration in the Balkans. The treatment of Metternich is much too theoretical, being based, as usual, more on the comments of Gentz and other publicists than on the Chancellor's own testimony. Much is made of the Pan-Slavic threat of Russia to explain the strength of Austro-Slavism in the nineteenth century without inquiring if Russian policy was ever consistently so oriented. Again, the writings of Fröbel and Frantz need to be supplemented by the concrete plans of Beust, Dalwigk, Pfordten, and others to reform the German Confederation. Bruck deserves all the attention Droz gives him, but why not do



the same for Ludwig von Biegeleben, who is barely mentioned? If such questions arise, it is not because Droz's work on the idea of *Mittleuropa* is deficient but rather because, with rare sympathy and objectivity, he has left little more to be said in the genre in which he has written. For a compact guide to this complex subject for the whole period concerned there is nothing better.

*University of Kentucky*

ENNO E. KRAEHE

## HISTORICA II: HISTORICAL SCIENCES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

(Prague: Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. 1960. Pp. 374.)

HISTORY is among those disciplines most severely affected by the intellectual strait jacket of Marxism. The interpretation of the past by Marx and his disciples must fulfill the important task of justifying contemporary policies. History must therefore be at the service of the present Communist leaders. The onerous task of reinterpreting the past to fulfill the current needs of a Communist regime was an especially difficult one for Czechoslovak historians. The Czech national movement owed its inception as well as its ideological orientation to Palacký in the nineteenth century. The twentieth-century historian Pekař also wielded considerable influence. Masaryk and Beneš built a modern state on the democratic foundations laid by the historians. After some initial hesitation the Communist leaders, determined to erase democratic traditions, were bold enough to attack the Masaryk-Beneš "legend" and with it the "bourgeois democratic" historical school which had flourished in Czechoslovakia between the two world wars. The first ten years following the Communist coup of February 1948 saw Czech historians so absorbed in the reinterpretation of the Masaryk-Beneš period that the outside observer was left with the impression that Czechoslovak historians were oblivious of anything else. It is therefore a pleasure to be able to point to *Historica*, a publication of the Historical Section of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, as evidence that Czechoslovak historians have been able to make serious scholarly contributions on various phases of Czechoslovak history. It was to be expected that a Marxist viewpoint and terminology would occasionally mar an otherwise excellent piece of historical research. The further removed the topic is from the present, however, the less frequent such jarring notes. Perhaps the great strides recently made by Czech archaeologists are a testimony of the serious historians' flight from the ideological oppression of the present.

Western historians should be grateful to have been given access to research in an area until now neglected because of the language barrier. All articles have been translated from the original Czech or Slovak into either English, French, German, or Russian. In this volume, the second of the series, Bohumil Soudský, in an illustrated article entitled "Station néolithique de Bylany," describes recent

excavations in eastern Bohemia which uncovered the ruins of a village greatly illuminating the civilization in Bohemia during the third and fourth millennia before our era. Soudský confirms the southeastern origin of this civilization. Josef Dobiáš in his "Wo lagen die Wohnsitze der Markomannen?" concerns himself exhaustively with the controversy of the location of the Marcomanni. In his "Die Handelsbeziehungen Böhmens zu Deutschland und Österreich im 14. und zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts," František Graus reconstructs a remarkably complete picture of Bohemia's trade relations with her neighbors in the period just preceding the Hussite wars. Mikuláš Teich's "The Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences and the First Phase of Organized Scientific Advance in Bohemia" deals with the social and economic factors in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Bohemia which gave rise to the first organized venture in the field of science in that country. Jaroslav Purš relies also on Western sources in his "The Industrial Revolution in the Czech Lands," but his treatment fits into the Marxian pattern. The detailed analysis of the growth and development of the more important Czech industries represents a scholarly contribution, however. He is mainly interested in relating a particular phase in industrial development with the start of an "independent political proletarian movement." Václav Král contributes little that is not already known in his "The Policy of Germanization Enforced in Bohemia and Moravia by the Fascist Invaders during the Second World War," in spite of his use of Czech archives, not generally available to outsiders.

*Historica II* is highly recommended for those Western historians who are interested in Central European history.

*University of Connecticut*

CURT F. BECK

OCHERKI PO ISTORII EKONOMICHESKIKH NAUK V ROSSII XVIII VEKA [Essays in the History of Economic Sciences in Russia in the 18th Century]. By N. K. Karataev. (Moscow: Academy of Sciences of the USSR Press for the Economics Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences. 1960. Pp. 290. 1 ruble.)

THE modest intrinsic value of this book lies in the convenient summaries of the contents of periodicals published by the Russian Academy of Sciences (established in 1724) and of various travelogues and geographic or geological surveys containing economic information mostly on the peripheral areas of the country. In addition, the author utilized unpublished archival materials of the academy and those of the Free Economic Association (established in 1765). Economic historians will find in the book a number of useful bibliographical indications. Yet the main interest of the study does not derive from what it contributes to our knowledge of economic doctrines and economic research in eighteenth-century Russia, but

from its illumination of Soviet historical scholarship in the sixth decade of our century.

Karataev's approach to his subject has been prefabricated for him. His task, he says, "is to demonstrate the existence in Russia of the 18th century of feudal economics and of the beginnings of bourgeois economics." Accordingly, all the writers mentioned are classified as being either "feudal" or "bourgeois." As is the custom in Soviet Russia, the two terms are used as though their meaning were entirely unambiguous. It is therefore worth noting that even within the narrow context of this book the term "feudal" appears in at least three distinct connotations. The use of the term "bourgeois" is similarly slipshod. A dichotomy of this kind is particularly ill suited to Russian economic and intellectual history in the earlier parts of the eighteenth century. The considerable modernization under Peter the Great, which Soviet writers describe as the initial stage of Russian capitalism, was indubitably achieved through putting the Russian peasantry under pressures which the selfsame writers describe as feudal. Hence classifying this or that writer as belonging to one of the two groups is neither convincing nor interesting. The period was marked by a drastic change in attitudes from the stress on economic development in the first quarter of the century (Pososhkov) to radical agrarian populism in its last quarter (Radishchev). The change had momentous consequences for Russia's intellectual history in the nineteenth century, but it entirely eludes the pair of conceptual or preconceptual crudities with which Karataev operates.

On the other hand, Karataev's book bears the mark of a certain return to reason that occurred after the death of Stalin. In the last quinquennium of the dictator's life any acknowledgment of foreign influences was stigmatized as groveling before the West. Karataev, writing as he does in a somewhat different climate, still has to credit some Russian mediocrities with having anticipated both the physiocrats and Adam Smith, or to assert that, in 1825, some (unnamed) "English economists sorrowfully acknowledged England's lag behind Russia in the diffusion of economic knowledge," which, of course, is sheer nonsense. Nevertheless, Karataev is able to discuss at some length the ties connecting Russian writers with foreign economists, and particularly with French and German mercantilism. This is progress. But, again, the most arresting aspect of that discussion is the absence of foreign influences upon Karataev himself. All modern literature on mercantilism seems quite unknown to him. At any rate, he writes as though nothing has been said on the subject since the days of Marx, thus providing striking evidence for the intellectual isolation in which Soviet historians find themselves.

*Harvard University*

ALEXANDER GERSCHENKRON

THE THIRD SECTION: POLICE AND SOCIETY IN RUSSIA UNDER  
NICHOLAS I. By *Sidney Monas*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Num-

ber 42.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 354. \$6.75.)

ALTHOUGH Professor Monas' book deals with the Third Section of His Majesty's Own Chancery in the reign of Nicholas I, that is, with the special police, it also describes and discusses numerous other aspects and episodes of Russian political, social, and cultural history between the Decembrist Rebellion and the Crimean War. In part, this expansion of the theme stems from the nature of the subject: after all, Nicholas I used the Third Section to supervise his entire empire and to interfere in countless public and private affairs. In part, it represents the author's enthusiasm and broad interests. In the end the reader obtains something in the nature of a general introduction to the reign as well as a specific account of the section. Following an introduction and an excellent chapter on the historical background of the political police in Russia, Monas treats the "Friends of the Fourteenth," "Manners and Morals in the Third Section," "Censorship, to 1848," "Empire and Cabbage Soup," "1848, and After," and "The Third Section in Retrospect." "Cabbage soup," quoted from Pushkin, refers to the conflict between the ideal of simple family life and the excessive, indeed crushing, demands and ambitions of Peter the Great's—and Nicholas'—state. It heads the chapter which pays protracted attention to Pushkin's own "case."

The volume contains interesting contemporary illustrations, an extensive and valuable bibliography, notes unfortunately relegated to the back of the book, and an index. The author competently handles the different and disparate material of his narrative and uses effectively and well the necessary languages. Only the Russian case endings disconcertingly tend to run out of control. Other slips include the unwarranted assignments of the title of "Prince" both to Alexis Lvov, the composer of the Russian national anthem, and the high official Count Serge Viazmitinov.

In addition to its richness and variety, *The Third Section* appeals to the reader through sheer good writing. The narrative maintains its exciting pace, and the language remains vivid and clear. Most important, the author allows his marvelous material to speak for itself, avoiding overstatement or moralization. Objectivity and a humane and understanding point of view constitute in fact additional virtues of Monas' study. Without in the least sharing their beliefs, Monas appreciates the problems of the Emperor and his policemen and tends on the whole to present their side of the events as well as the better-known side of the victims.

The book is disappointing only in that it adds little to our knowledge of the Third Section or of the Russian history of the period. Monas tells his stories well. The trouble is that too many of the stories are too well known. A student of history would have preferred an attempt to develop the author's suggestion that the Third Section became gradually discouraged and lost confidence in itself and its assigned tasks to another retelling of Pushkin's trials and tribulations with the

government or another discussion of the Petrashevtsy, who not only never belonged to the Third Section, but were not even caught by it. Perhaps, however, this is an excessive demand with the present state of materials, and a more definitive history of the Third Section will have to await the opening of the archives.

In any case, this is an interesting and an eminently readable book.

*University of California, Berkeley*

NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY

THE TRANSFORMATION OF RUSSIAN SOCIETY: ASPECTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE SINCE 1861. Edited by Cyril E. Black. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. vii, 695. \$9.75.)

PROFESSOR Black has assembled thirty-two papers presented at an Arden House conference in 1958. In this sense, it is a sequel to Bergson's *Soviet Economic Growth* and Simmons' *Continuity and Change in Russian and Soviet Thought*. A number of persons variously interested in economics, education, history, literature, philosophy, political science, and sociology attended the conference. It is not clear to what extent the papers have been revised in the light of the panel discussions to which they were subjected, but each group is provided with a summary and review prepared, not by the discussion leaders (Robinson, Roberts, Simmons, Mosely, and Leites) but by the panel chairmen (Fainsod, Inkeles, Harcave, Bauer, and Speier). Beyond this the editor has apparently made no attempt to reduce the contributions of the participants to any common denominator. The effect is that of a *smörgåsbord*, a surfeit of appetizers without a complete meal.

In a brief introduction Black sets the tone for the book—"to raise questions rather than to settle them"—by toying with the questions of periodization and other methodological problems, such as the extent to which Russian phenomena may be judged by Western criteria. There are three "background papers": Talcott Parsons, dealing with "Some Principal Characteristics of Industrial Societies," conceptualizes, wrapping platitudes in jargon; Gershenkron presents a very thoughtful and well-informed paper about "Problems and Patterns of Russian Economic Development," which raises questions well worth extended and careful discussion; Warren Eason supplies a careful estimate of "Population Changes" as far as the very unsatisfactory statistics permit.

The bulk of the book is arranged in terms of the five original panels: law, politics, and social change; social stratification; education, scholarship, and religion; family, youth, and human welfare; personal and social values. It is the first of these that holds most interest for the historical-minded. Brzezinski discusses "Patterns of Autocracy"; excellent in itself, this brief paper is perhaps too narrowly focused on Russia alone and even so does not touch on the question of the varying social roots that nourish autocracy and, when cut, produce instability. Haimson contributes a brilliantly written paper on "The Parties and the State," which, however, overstresses subjective, "ideological" aspects. This concentration

on the foaming surf, neglecting the underlying tidal movements, leaves the outcome of 1917, so unrelated to the preconceived ideas of the revolutionaries, as something of a surprise. Hazard's "The Courts and the Legal System" reflects a rather highly specialized facet of the problem of continuity with tsarist days, but is illuminated by reference also to changing concepts in non-Soviet Western countries. Monas' "Political Police" is still more specialized, but is a welcome contribution to the study of an unduly neglected Russian phenomenon that still needs illumination for three earlier centuries and for the last decade. Vucinich supplies a useful review of organs of limited local self-administration in the last decades of tsarism, with a contrasting glance at the local soviets. Von Laue admirably analyzes the relations of "The State and the Economy" from Alexander II to Khrushchev, with due reference to external pressures that complicated the ever-present problem of how to overcome the economic backwardness of Russia without endangering its political position. Fainsod briefly sums up this section, without being able to overcome its inherent lack of unity.

In the remaining sections certain papers of value to the historian stand out like plums richly studded in the pudding. A few of them require mention. Lazar Volin ably reviews the continuing struggles of "The Russian Peasant" in a changing setting. Gliksman perceptively but all too briefly treats "The Russian Urban Worker." Garthoff carefully discusses the more specialized problem of "The Military as a Social Force." Curtiss takes a fresh look at "Church and State," of which he is master, while Timashev makes a more subjective approach to "The Inner Life of the Russian Orthodox Church." Ralph Fisher, by constricting his scope to ideology, manages an account of "The Soviet Model of the Ideal Youth" that still has historical perspective.

Most of the papers carry useful footnotes which somewhat compensate for the absence of a bibliography. The index, as is perhaps unavoidable in a work of this range, is unusable.

Brooklyn College

JESSE D. CLARKSON

GESCHICHTE DER SOWJETUNION, 1917-1957. Edited by M. P. Kim et al.

Translated by Günter Rosenfeld et al. (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1960. Pp. 791. DM 14.80.)

THIS German Communist translation of the basic Russian "higher school" text on the history of the USSR in the "epoch of Socialism" is vulnerable to the same criticism as the original. Most Western scholars will consider it propaganda rather than history—a shamelessly arrogant distortion of facts in the interest of Communism, the party leadership, and the Soviet state.

The book does have virtues not shared by all Soviet history texts. Written when Stalin's hand had been removed and before Khrushchev's universal genius was all pervasive, the Russian original represented a modest revisionism in

Soviet historiography and gave perhaps as balanced an account as we are likely to obtain for some time. There is mention of such Soviet mistakes as the cult of the personality, the excessive repressions due to "hostile" elements in the security apparatus, the faulty assessment of Hitler's intentions and power. The fact that other peoples besides the Soviets fought in the war is also mentioned. On the whole, the book emphasizes the positive accomplishments of the Soviet people, high and humble alike, hundreds of little individuals receiving credit for their contributions toward the triumph of socialism (and now Communism). And there is drama. Dark forces of reaction (including, most prominently, our own "leading circles") have provided cruel trials all along the line. Bourgeois capitalist imperialists, conspiring openly or behind the curtains with white guardists, social revolutionaries, Trotskyites, kulaks, loose elements, Nazi aggressors, Japanese imperialists, revanchists, and so forth, have instigated everything bad (such as Finland's attack upon the Soviet Union in 1939) and destroyed everything good (such as disarmament plans). The hostile elements are always frustrated, however, by the heroic, selfless, peace-loving, and, under party guidance, successful, working people of the Soviet Union. The book ends with yet another triumph as the American provocation in Hungary is crushed and the antiparty group in the Soviet leadership is deposed.

The German edition of 1960 is generally faithful to the Russian original. A few deviations are evident. Throughout the work, where the Russians often refer to "our people," the German edition says "the Soviet people." In some places the Germans have added short supplementary phrases. Less frequently a line has been dropped. Here and there words or phrases have been translated so as to (usually slightly) change the meaning. A Communist commission of inquiry could possibly find a sinister pattern in it. There is not, however, any tendency apparent to me except, perhaps, the normal desire to "clarify and improve" which moves all translators.

It is clear, however, that not even a very much "improved" German translation can make this Russian textbook a convincing history of the USSR for German students, no matter how young, poorly informed, or Marxist oriented they may be. The book is interesting because it contains a great mass of miscellaneous information and because it reveals the Russians talking, albeit not very candidly, to themselves about themselves. But this is not a book suitable for an international audience, in spite of credits given throughout to "working masses" and "progressive elements" everywhere. It is just too incredibly egocentric for people who have had experience outside the Soviet Union. A second German edition has been prepared. It will appear when the book is already under criticism in the Soviet Union itself for failing to do justice to "all the peoples comprising the great multinational Soviet nation. . . ." Since it does even less justice to the non-Soviet peoples, it will hardly be popular in Germany.

*California Institute of Technology*

HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK



SOVIET MARXISM AND NATURAL SCIENCE, 1917-1932. By *David Joravsky*. [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 433. \$7.50.)

WITH the great scarcity of Western as well as Soviet studies on the history and philosophy of science in Russia, this volume is a welcome addition, especially since it represents the first attempt to deal with the often neglected, tumultuous ideological debates concerning the place of the natural sciences in the Soviet Marxism of the 1920's.

Mr. Joravsky's study deals mainly with the evolution of Communist ideology, specifically in reference to the role of the philosophy of the natural sciences within its confines, rather than with the actual development of the natural sciences (and their concomitant—technology), in the first fifteen years following the Bolshevik Revolution.

Only two rather brief chapters, on physics and biology, and several other references throughout the book devote attention to the probable impact of Communist dogma upon scientific hypotheses or the influence of the Communist political creed upon scientific theory and empirical research. For the rest, the volume deals with issues, real or bogus, raised not by the development of science as such or by scientists themselves, but largely by party propagandists. The study's major attention is on the role played by A. M. Deborin (Ioffe), whose faction gained some token influence through its control of the division of philosophy of the Institute of Red Professors (postgraduate center for the Communist training of teachers for institutions of higher learning) and editorial stronghold of several Communist journals. This faction supposedly represented exponents of the school of "meta-physics," who cast a challenge to the more numerous and traditionalist "mechanist" faction. The author follows the Russian practice of factional personification, painstakingly pinning down individuals (who, except for a few partisan natural scientists, were largely Communist dogmatists) either as "Deborinites" or "anti-Deborinites," and the book dwells at length on who said what to contradict whom. This makes a fascinating reading exercise, filled at times with frustratingly detailed information, about the intellectual history of the Communist "philosophers." In following this debate one might be too generous in granting that Marxist dialectics is a philosophical system. The period of factional discourses, however, came to an abrupt end, dictated by the necessities of rapid industrialization and the need for technological upsurge, which brought to the fore the Stalinist dictate of "practice" as the ultimate criterion of truth.

The insistence upon "practice" in the research effort in the natural sciences could have brought out the positivism inherent in Marxist thought if it were not for the difficulty of interpreting what "practice" is under Communist dictatorship. In reality, it is determined in accordance with the scale of ever-shifting priorities decided by the planners or even the whimsical decisions of a single dictator.

In the end, the fundamental proposition that Marxist dialectics harbor contra-

dictions between metaphysics and positivism in regard to natural sciences remains unresolved. Verbalisms, labels, and political bigotry aside, "Marxism" in the natural sciences still remains what it originally was—what each natural scientist in the Soviet Union is already doing and will continue to do—search for experimental means and empirical evidence to reveal the essence and laws of the physical universe. Perhaps in this sense positivism is prevalent. Beyond this, it is the prerogative of the philosophers or party theologians, whichever the case may be, to worry about metaphysics: whether or not an individual scientist is an unwitting "dialectical materialist" or the scientific truth squares with the current interpretation of "diamat."

*Harvard University*

NICHOLAS DEWITT

THE POLITICS OF TOTALITARIANISM: THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION FROM 1934 TO THE PRESENT. By *John A. Armstrong*. (New York: Random House. 1961. Pp. xvi, 458. \$7.50.)

AN ESSAY ON SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, 1934-1960. By *John A. Armstrong*. (Mimeographed; [Madison, Wis.: the Author.] 1961. Pp. 41.)

In spite of the ever-increasing preoccupation with the Soviet world, historians have been hesitant to describe the most recent decades in the history of the Communist party. One reason for this has been the lack of source material. Another reason is more obscure but no less troublesome: because the party has become intricately enmeshed in the vast framework of institutions and associations that make up Soviet society, its history is inseparable from that of the Soviet Union as a whole, not to mention other countries of the Soviet bloc and Communist parties throughout the world. In view of this, many scholars would undoubtedly conclude that, after a certain point, it becomes meaningless to write the history of the party.

Professor Armstrong has steered around this last difficulty by treating the party as the arena of power struggles between the highest members of the Soviet leadership. Although this makes sense, it sometimes tends to throw other aspects of the party's history out of focus by making them mere byplays of the struggle for power. In dealing with such matters as the organization and reorganization of industry, this may have resulted in serious omissions and distortions; in explaining such esoteric matters as the party's cultural policies or changes in ideology, the excessive preoccupation with power and personalities has made the book somewhat arid. More generally, it may have prevented Armstrong from giving a profound and systematic image of the Soviet political system and the party's changing role within it, even though he is clearly aware of the need to understand these relationships.

The difficulty concerning sources has contributed to the somewhat unsystematic character of the presentation. Because of their scantiness and dubious reliability,

Armstrong's principal aim has been to construct, as meticulously as possible, a chronicle of Soviet politics since 1934, avoiding sweeping generalizations so as to outline the trees before the forest might be described. Furthermore, he has undertaken to evaluate all bits of evidence. This essential procedure further tended to give the narrative a choppy, uneven quality. In short, the author's caution and honesty, his sense of fairness to all his sources of information, and his forthright resolve to present his own conclusions have prevented any broad sweep of ideas or analysis. The book is therefore tedious to read.

Given the author's objectives, the controversial nature of the subject, and the scarcity of material, it is probably the best we can expect for the time being, and the author deserves praise for judicious handling of an immensely difficult task. His book contains indispensable and full information on Soviet politics since 1934. The excellent and exhaustive bibliography was, strangely enough, not included in the work. We must be grateful to the author for making it available to his colleagues as a separate, mimeographed brochure.

*Michigan State University*

ALFRED G. MEYER

## Africa

THE AFRICAN COLONIZATION MOVEMENT, 1816-1865. By P. J. *Staudenraus*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 323. \$6.00.)

DURING the pre-Civil War period, the free Negro was widely regarded as an African incapable of incorporation into American society. The American Colonization Society's solution to the Negro problem in the United States was colonization in Africa. There the Negro could establish his own commonwealth and serve as a vanguard in the Christianization and civilization of Africa. While the Colonization Society believed that the Negro could not be incorporated into American life, would remain a problem, and would fare better in Africa, the antislavery societies regarded the Negro as a white man enslaved. Free him and he could work side by side with his white brother in the building of America.

This detailed history of the American Colonization Society describes the Society's inception, organization, and methods of operation. Because its work was expensive, the quest for funds, including federal support, receives much attention.

Key men in the movement and their work are presented. Among the large body of supporters in America were James Monroe, Henry Clay, and Francis Scott Key. Efforts to enlist English support were not too successful since most Britons favored emancipation rather than colonization. Their project in Sierra Leone in the last decades of the eighteenth century and the American settlement of Liberia proved equally disappointing. By 1899 the American Colonization Society had sent 15,386 colonists to its pilot project in Liberia. The obstacles encountered in Africa, the

trials involved in actual survival, and problems in colonial administration are additional considerations of the book.

The author discusses the manuscript collection of the American Colonization Society, his principal source, and he includes references to other pertinent material in a short bibliographical essay. Over fifty pages of footnotes follow the text, and although they are mainly citations of sources, many readers would prefer having the notes at the bottom of the pages. Students interested in the Negro and in slavery will want to examine this scholarly and interesting work which is a contribution to American history and to the literature concerning Anglo-American humanitarianism in the nineteenth century.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

FRANK J. KLINGBERG

## Asia and the East

HISTOIRE DE L'OCÉAN INDIEN. By *Auguste Toussaint*. [Pays d'outre-mer: Colonies, empires, pays autonomes. Sixth Series, Peuples et civilisations d'outre-mer, Number 4.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1961. Pp. 286. 15 new fr.)

Nothing could be more appropriate than the appearance of a history of the Indian Ocean by the archivist of Mauritius at a time when a score of nations are cooperating in a UNESCO project for the better development of that ocean's vast resources. We are already indebted to Monsieur Toussaint for a most useful bibliography of Mauritius' history and several scholarly studies of the island's trade and American participation in it. The scope and character of this book were naturally determined by the series to which it belongs. It is a reflective study of the ocean's history since men first sailed upon it, written by a scholar who has read widely and deeply on the subject over many years while living on the island where, in the age of sail, nearly all the strands of the region's maritime history met, mingled, and parted to go their several ways. Hence, the book should be judged on this basis. The general reader should not expect to find profundity and acute penetration at all points for the author is thoroughly steeped only in the materials of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; nor should the academic reader be distressed at the infrequency of footnotes and the consequent discussion of authorities in the body of the text.

Every informed reader will have his own idea of how to compress into three hundred pages the many facets of this kaleidoscopic story covering at least forty centuries. I would have preferred a narrower definition of the subject with more attention devoted to the influence of geography upon history. The nonmaritime aspects (for example, the Boer War) of South African and Australian history seem hardly worth more than mention while more attention could have been turned to the search for a "Terra Australis" fraught with so many hopes and

fears since its existence in a temperate zone of the great "South Sea" would have vastly altered the course of Indian Ocean history. Readers without the benefit of French training in *géographie humaine* would have welcomed a few more pages on the influence of monsoons, the compass, and the chronometer on maritime history in this region.

Toussaint is most at home between 1650 and 1850 when his island often held the center of the stage. Here are the best parts of the book: the excellent brief sketches of Portuguese, Dutch, French, and British trading activities from the Cape to the China Seas; the expansion of intra-Asian "country-trading"; and the culmination in the nineteenth-century British (or rather European) "thalassocracy." When he gets to the age of steam and the age of oil, his touch is less sure, and he seems even to be far happier with the Sassanids, the Moguls, and the puzzling problem of Chinese failure to accomplish more in the Indian Ocean. There are a few regrettable slips in authors' names and in dates which will doubtless be corrected on reprinting. As the first book of its kind to be written about the Indian Ocean by a historian, Toussaint's work deserves a warm welcome from general reader, teacher, and scholar.

*University of Pennsylvania*

HOLDEN FURBER

A HISTORY OF JAPAN, 1334-1615. By *George Sansom*. [Stanford Studies in the Civilization of Eastern Asia.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1961. Pp. xix, 442. \$8.25.)

THIS second volume of the *History of Japan* covers the period from Emperor Go-Daigo's Kemmu restoration to the founding of the Tokugawa shogunate by Ieyasu. In his preface to the first volume Sansom stated that this work was for the general reader, but it will also benefit the specialized scholar. As the beautifully brushed inscription at the head of the volume says in one word, the period is one of strife, and it is this strife that is the main theme of the volume. While unrolling his scroll of Japanese history for the reader, Sansom pauses here and there to tie into the picture the socioeconomic changes and developments which were stimulated by, or lay behind, the armed strife.

The author again excites admiration by his mastery of the voluminous and varied primary sources of the period, for they are in a language so different from that of the present as to be unintelligible even to the educated Japanese. This mastery permits him to place events in historical perspective in his inimitable way, with interpretations and opinions as fresh as they are enlightening. Cases in point are his treatment of Emperors Go-Daigo and Hanazono; of members of the Ashikaga line, especially Takauji and Yoshimasa, and the influence of Gidō over Yoshimitsu; Kusunoki Masashige (for whom he has a high regard but for reasons different from those held in the past in Japan); the less likable side of Musō Kokushi; and his evaluation of the role played by Kitabatake Chikafusa. Under

the magic of his effortless prose, these historical figures become living people, a feat accomplished by few historians in Japan.

Sansom describes the struggle between the Ashikaga Bakufu and the Southern Court by bringing it into sharp focus through the actions of Takauji and Chikafusa. He notes that the underlying cause for the existence of the two courts was not a struggle for supremacy between them, but between two military factions, and that it was the destruction of the feudal hierarchy organized by the Kamakura regents that led to the chaos of subsequent centuries. The weakness of the Muro-machi shogunate was caused by financial reasons, he points out, and describes the underlying social and economic changes of the time. His economic treatment of the bewildering alliances and treacheries of the Ashikaga and Sengoku periods in simple terms of personal gain or loss gives us a clearer insight into those times. Interesting also is his discussion of the conflicting accounts of the Battle of Minatogawa in the *Taihei-ki* and the *Baishō-ron*.

At the same time, the results of recent research into regional and local records have not been neglected, but they have been used on a selective basis in order to prevent the over-all picture from becoming "a shapeless mosaic of fact and opinion drawn from other people's historical writings." He succeeds admirably in his aim to maintain his own style and unity.

The author's view of Japanese history has led him to de-emphasize the importance of the arrival and activities of Western missionaries and traders in the sixteenth century. This is refreshing because the matter has tended to be overemphasized, for understandable reasons, by earlier historians such as Murdoch. To illustrate the purpose and nature of feudal "house laws," Sansom cites in detail that formulated by Asakura Toshikage.

Dates have been painstakingly converted into the Julian calendar, and more explanatory footnotes than is his custom are used. The *Kammon Nikki*, identified only as Go-Sukō-in's diary in the main text, is not identified except by a bibliographical note at the end of the volume, nor is the *Daijō-in Jisha Zōji-ki* immediately identified. But these are merely matters of editing. Is not Kōmyō-in's personal name more ordinarily read Toyohito, and the biography of Nobunaga (by Ōta Gyūichi, or Sukefusa) called *Nobunaga-kō ki*? But these small matters have no effect on the main issues.

Sansom refutes the views of earlier Japanese historians that the imperial court was at a low ebb in Nobunaga's time. He wisely gives greater credence to Hideyoshi's own account of the Battle of Shizugatake than to the account by Frois. He also points out that that battle, often overlooked, was one of the decisive battles in Japanese history. While mentioning the disagreement among Japanese scholars concerning the purpose and effect of Hideyoshi's land surveys and registration, he presents the important fact that these surveys abolished the last vestiges of the *shōen* (manorial) system.

Professor Toyoda states that Sansom's presentation of Japanese history in this

volume contains much from which Japanese historians might learn; it is "a work of art." Indeed, it should remain the standard work in Western languages for a long time, and a monument to its author. Not only greatly informed by this work, I thoroughly enjoyed reading it and look forward eagerly to the appearance of the concluding volume.

*Library of Congress*

OSAMU SHIMIZU

## Americas

RECORDING AMERICA'S PAST: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORICAL STUDIES IN AMERICA, 1607-1884. By *David D. Van Tassel*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 222. \$6.00.)

How often we have all smiled in derision at a review which after dwelling on mistaken interpretations and on serious mistakes or limitations ends with the statement "Nevertheless the book is a valuable contribution that must be read by all scholars in the field." Well, here is another such review.

Van Tassel's book, which is to be followed by another on the history of the American Historical Association, is an account of the writing of American history by American historians down to 1884. Thirty pages are allotted to the colonial period, fifty-five cover the years from 1776 to 1815, another fifty-four take the story to 1860, and the final thirty-seven end with the establishment of the American Historical Association in 1884 and with the ascendancy of professional scholars.

Two prominent features distinguish Van Tassel's study. One is his emphasis on the role of historical societies. The attempt to tell the story so largely in those terms is not outstandingly successful because history has been written by individuals not by organizations. This fact is recognized by the author, and most of his book, like other works on American historiography, is necessarily devoted to the writings and thoughts of individuals.

The other and more distinctive feature of the book is the central thesis around which Van Tassel organizes his material. He divides American histories and historians into two groups: the one local, the other national. This basic pattern gives unity and coherence to his account, sometimes to the detriment of accurate analysis. Local is a relative term. In the early years before there was an American nation is it correct to treat Thomas Prince's history of New England or Stith's history of Virginia as local history? Even in the later periods more care could have been given to that thin or perhaps nonexistent line which may separate local history from national history taking place at a certain time within a restricted area.

More careful thought could have been employed elsewhere. In discussing



Parkman, Van Tassel writes, "Such an aim [to re-create the past] made him kin to the rising group of critical historians who, for the most part, were local scholars. . . . His scope made him a national historian and his love of the dramatic event and the heroic individual suggested his underlying romanticism. His intimate knowledge of the writings of others, primary sources, legend and lore, and all aspects of the geography of the localities he wrote about put him at one with local historians." I submit that the test used here is not the correct one to tell a national from a local historian. George Bancroft and others whom the author rightly considers national historians professed the same aim, knew the writings of others, primary sources as well as legend and lore.

Van Tassel's knowledge of the writings of others is one of the notable features of his book. He obviously knows and has used intelligently the secondary literature not only of the recent decades but of all of the nineteenth century. Because of the stress given to the usually neglected contributions of historical organizations and because of the prevailing scholarly spirit, it is necessary to say (here it comes) in spite of all limitations that the book is a valuable contribution that must be read by all scholars in the field.

*University of Washington*

W. STULL HOLT

THE POLITICS OF NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTIONS. By *Paul T. David et al.* (Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution. 1960. Pp. xv, 592. \$10.00.)

THE 1956 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN. By *Charles A. H. Thomson* and *Frances M. Shattuck*. (Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution. 1960. Pp. xv, 382. \$5.00.)

THE PRESIDENCY, CRISIS AND REGENERATION: AN ESSAY IN POSSIBILITIES. By *Herman Finer*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 374. \$5.00.)

THEORETICALLY an understanding of American political history is basic equipment for the student of political science in the United States. Without it, he is apt to find novelty where it does not exist. There are some lapses of this sort in the above three volumes, but they are minor and do not seriously distort the conclusions.

Although at first glance *The Politics of National Party Conventions* by Paul T. David, Ralph M. Goldman, and Richard C. Bain seems to be a reference work, further examination soon proves that the book's bulk and somewhat forbidding format are deceptive. As Robert D. Calkins, president of the Brookings Institution, states in the introduction, it represents the collaboration of many more than the three principal architects. The result could have been confusion, but it is not. Here the reader will find a concise account of the origins and development of the national party conventions, a careful analysis of the leadership centers of

the party out of power as well as of the party in the White House, and a critical appraisal of the changing patterns in the nominating process as it relates to the delegates and candidates in the national party conventions. The authors are much more successful, as all of us are, in describing what has happened than in recommending future directions. When they turn from a microscopic examination of the past to train their telescope on the far horizon, the sights become blurred. The chapter on the future of the party system closes with this sentence: "It remains to be seen whether the necessary qualities of vision will be provided, and soon enough, by some inspired national leadership."

*The 1956 Presidential Campaign* is also sponsored by the Brookings Institution. Though it is journalism of a high order, it does not contain much beyond what the careful reader could learn from the official reports of the proceedings of the Republican and Democratic National Conventions and the files of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post and Times Herald*. One wishes that the authors had taken a more complete sampling of newspaper comments from all parts of the nation. On the basis of the evidence that they have examined, they conclude that the "1956 presidential campaign did far more to confirm basic aspects of the American political process than it did to change them." Neither party made any significant changes in campaigning methods, in organization, or in tactics. Stevenson's attempt to talk seriously about key issues failed largely, in the opinion of the authors, because professional politicians persuaded the candidate to abandon the effort midway in the campaign. The victory of President Eisenhower and Vice-President Nixon is attributed less to candidate preference, in spite of Eisenhower's popularity, than to the "great enduring current of party preference." The authors conclude with the perennial plea for the political involvement of a larger, better-educated, more concerned electorate "than that which basked through the summer and fall of 1956."

In his incisive essay, which he calls *The Presidency: Crisis and Regeneration*, Dr. Finer is less interested in nominating conventions and presidential campaigns than in what happens to the successful candidate after he enters the White House. Much that he says on this score has been said before, but rarely has it been said so well. A man of strong convictions, he is convinced that "the quality of the government of the American nation is staked almost entirely on a gamble—the gamble of the sufficiency of one man's personal qualities of mind and character and physique, pitted against the appalling tasks that history has thrust on the office of the President of the United States." Over the years, since Washington took the oath of office, we have been fortunate, more often than not, in the caliber of men chosen for the presidency by a cumbersome process of selection that is forever in danger of breaking down. Finer seems to be haunted by the fear that our luck is about to run out. He is sure that we ought to be far more concerned than we appear to be, especially as we move toward crisis in this long period of international tension.

Most American voters will probably agree that the President of the United States needs rescue. The way in which the rescue should be effected has for years been the subject of debate. Finer has a plan. He calls for the election of a president and a cabinet of eleven vice-presidents on the same ticket every four years. The recommendation of eleven vice-presidents is not arbitrary. It represents the minimum number required to supervise the most important departments. Eligibility for membership in the cabinet as president or one of the vice-presidents requires present membership in the House or Senate for at least four years. In other words, the only route to the presidency shall be by way of the Congress. Both Congress and the president shall have the same term of office—four years.

Obviously, the intent of this plan is to replace the "solitary president" with an executive committee. The inference is that the President will be relieved from the responsibility which goes with monolithic power. But can any plural executive be devised that relieves the President of the final decision, unless we are prepared to accept the principle of majority rule in a committee of equals.

The author realizes how deeply his proposal runs against our political tradition. He is asking for more than a change in organization or procedure. He would have us turn our backs on much of our history and frankly confess the inadequacy in this last half of the twentieth century of a system that seemed wise two hundred years ago.

*Columbia University*

JOHN A. KROUT

THE PAPERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Volume III, JANUARY 1, 1745, THROUGH JUNE 30, 1750. Edited by *Leonard W. Labaree et al.* [Sponsored by the American Philosophical Society and Yale University.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1961. Pp. xxv, 513. \$10.00.)

IN this, the third volume of the Yale edition of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, Professor Labaree and his colleagues have maintained the high standard of impeccable scholarship that characterized the first two volumes. The established pattern of editorial impedimenta is followed: the list of contributors, the note on "Method of Textual Reproduction," the list of "Abbreviations and Short Titles," and the "chronology" of events to provide a historical context for Franklin and his papers. The editorial introductions to the documents and the footnotes continue to be of a superlative order of scholarly excellence. One exasperating technical detail appears in the order, or lack of it, in the numbering of footnotes and citations: they are numbered neither by document, by page, nor by any other discernably rational scheme. The numbers jump from nine back to one on the same page, in the same paragraph, or even in the same sentence! It is a more serious criticism to note that one searches the index ("Compiled by David Horne") in vain for guidance of any sort to Franklin's thinking on such subjects as economics, politics, religion, science, medicine, or any other general topic. This is an index of

specific incidents, persons, books, and so forth; it is not of the slightest guidance in a search for Franklin's ideas. And the specter of the problem of selection, with regard to which the editors maintain a generally conservative policy, still pursues them.

The five and one half years of Franklin's life covered by this volume of his *Papers* constitute one of the most creative and, it may be, the most original, of his whole variegated life. For these were the years in which, besides the publication of *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (the "Extracts from the Gazette" terminate with 1747, since the editors reason that the *Gazette*, after January 1, 1748, was David Hall's affair and not Franklin's) and *Poor Richard* (*Poor Richard Improved*, beginning with 1748, but still compiled by Franklin personally), Franklin wrote "The Speech of Miss Polly Baker" (1747), *Plain Truth* (1747), *The American Instructor* ("Advice to a Young Tradesman") (1748), the series of letters to Peter Collinson (1747-1750), which Collinson presently published, in London (1751), as *Experiments and Observations on Electricity, Made at Philadelphia in America, by Mr. Benjamin Franklin, and Communicated in Several Letters to Mr. P. Collinson, of London F.R.S., and Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania* (1749). In addition to all this publication, Franklin wrote a number of lesser papers and carried on a voluminous correspondence on such subjects as astronomy, meteorology, geology, agriculture, forestry, medicine, education, economics, religion, politics, international relations, and many others, with such distinguished contemporaries, American and European, as Peter Collinson, William Strahan, James Logan, Cadwallader Colden, Jared Eliot, John Mitchell, George Whitefield, Peter Kalm, "Our Friend [John] Bartram," and others.

During these years, Franklin ceased to be predominantly a printer and editor and became a highly versatile and increasingly important public man in his province. He fought the pacifist Quaker Assembly to a standstill by his advocacy of vigorous measures for provincial defense in *Plain Truth* and by his leadership in the organization of "The Association," as a result of which his friends began to urge him to run for election to the Assembly, which he declined to do, possibly because he might have had to give up his remunerative clerkship of that body. He did, however, become a member of the Philadelphia Common Council in 1748.

His thought on government appears to have been growing in the direction of the relativism that characterized his political activity and thinking for the rest of his life. It was also in these years that Franklin achieved his first great distinction as an educator by the publication of his *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*.

But it was science, and, most particularly, the study of electricity, that most completely absorbed his attention and his enthusiasm. As he wrote to Peter Collinson in March 1747: "For my own part, I never was before engaged in any study that so totally engrossed my attention and my time as this has done; for what with making experiments when I can be alone, and repeating them to my friends and

acquaintances, who, from the novelty of the thing, come continually in crowds to see them, I have, during some months past, had little leisure for anything else."

All this did not prevent him from continuing his literary and general interests. As editor of *Poor Richard Improved*, Franklin scanned the sources of contemporary information and popular literature. The almanac, expanded (from 1748 onward) from twenty-four pages to thirty-six, "became more than an almanac and compendium of information; it was a sort of miniature general magazine, issued annually to delight and educate its readers." Franklin was both editor and author; he borrowed information, essays, and poetry from whatever source offered, and composed many essays and verses of his own. As for his own poetry, he was modest: "I know as well as thee [Courteous Reader], that I am no *Poet born*; and it is a trade I never learnt, nor indeed could learn. . . . Why then should I give my Readers *bad lines* of my own, when *good ones* of other people's are so plenty?"

In this period Franklin came into his own, as it were, as the most distinguished citizen of his province. His interests, as yet, were chiefly provincial, if his scientific work and correspondence be excepted, and he was a man of his society. That society was a liberal one, if "liberal" be taken to indicate a society that welcomed and encouraged change and improvement by individual initiative and creativity. Franklin was an exponent of this liberalism. He not only practiced, but he also preached conscious self-improvement, innovation, experimentation, and the validity of new ideas. His liberalism, beyond the ideas on freedom of the press and of religion expressed in the preceding five years, is to be observed in his ideas on education, academic freedom, and economic exchange, in his oft-expressed faith in the freedom of experimentation and publication in science, and in many other of his remarks, direct and indirect. His ideas aroused a ready response among his fellow citizens; he was a liberal in an apparently liberal society. And his leadership aroused the fears of the conservatives. His agitation for adequate defense of the province won for him the angry denunciation of Thomas Penn, who characterized him as "a dangerous man," and "of a very uneasy spirit."

At the same time, he shared the nascent self-consciousness of his fellow citizens. He realized certain peculiarities in the society of Pennsylvania and appealed to the provincial patriotism of his "fellow-countrymen" (that is, of his fellow Pennsylvanians) by asking them, "Is not the whole Province one body, united by living under the same laws, and enjoying the same privileges?" But he was also becoming conscious of "America," and he spoke again and again of the differences between this fragment of the British nation and the fragment living in England. The germs of his later provincial, American, and English loyalties were beginning definitely to appear.

Franklin is already the most distinguished Pennsylvania provincial, but he is not yet clearly an "American," a consular agent—an apprentice diplomatist representing his province near the person of the imperial King—a fully self-conscious British Empire nationalist, or a fully matured American internationalist.

Let it be repeated: this is a monumental work. The editors are to be congratulated upon a highly significant editorial task well done.

*University of Washington*

MAX SAVELLE

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Volume XV, 27 MARCH 1789 TO 30 NOVEMBER 1789. Edited by *Julian P. Boyd*. Associate Editor, *William H. Gaines, Jr.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. xxxix, 677. \$10.00.)

As Volume XV opens, Jefferson is waiting for official word of his leave to return home. It is remarkable that only a few months before the convocation of the Estates General on May 4, 1789—the opening round of the political movement of the French Revolution—in America the birthday of the new government had taken place. This compresence of the progress of the new American Republic and the painful birth of liberty in the French nation is fundamental to the enthralling coverage and analysis contained in this volume. The letters are thus unified by Jefferson's steady adherence to the revolutionary ideals that had transformed the American colonies into an American republic, and that were now, he hoped, being diffused in a different society, in "Old Europe." This transcendent political cause is the breath and marrow of Jefferson's far-flung correspondence as he reported vivid on-the-spot impressions of the momentous events of each week to correspondents in America, England, and France.

To John Jay there are official and more than official reports which touch on every phase of the political and social crisis as these events interlocked French and American interests. More arresting is Jefferson's letter to Madison that "the earth belongs in usufruct to the living." Mr. Boyd's editorial note on this letter is another piece of brilliant scholarship. He shows that while Jefferson overtly recommends that Madison apply this concept to American legislation, he supports his argument by facts drawn from and applicable to the situation in France, "being intended to provide an instrument of justification for constitutional reforms then under discussion."

The correspondence with Lafayette is confined to urgent business, exactly because the two men were so deeply and intimately involved, Jefferson as the experienced philosopher-statesman to whom Lafayette turned for coaching on important questions of constitutional reform. Lafayette requested Jefferson's "notes" on his draft of a "Declaration of Rights" and later urged Jefferson to "Consider it Again, and Make Your observations" (July 6, 1789). That Jefferson did so and also imparted his own views of the general importance of declarations of rights is, as the editor suggests, beyond real doubt.

Again, as in each preceding volume, Jefferson's character and personality refuse to fit into the merely political dimension of existence. The great issues of the early stages of the French Revolution magnetize Jefferson, but fail to fanaticize

him into a single-factored person. Jefferson is obviously happy to spend time with the American inventor, James Rumsey, whose mission to interest the French government in his steamboat and related inventions was aided by Jefferson. In this context, from a footnote citation of a letter from Rumsey to a friend, we catch a glimpse of "Mr. Jeffersons being the most popular Embasador at the french Court."

There is also a sprinkling of Maria Cosway-Thomas Jefferson letters, including the last brief little note from Jefferson at Cowes on the eve of his departure for America, which is signed (by one who never signed himself so to other than his children) "farewell, remember me and love me."

Perhaps most noteworthy of all is Jefferson's correspondence with those Englishmen who sympathized with the American cause and with the progress of the "rights of man" universally. The celebrated Dr. Richard Price, nonconformist clergyman, wrote on May 4 that "Many of my Friends have participated with me in the satisfaction which it [Jefferson's account of French developments] has given me. I feel much interested in every transaction in which the cause of civil and religious liberty is concerned, and considering a free constitution of government as one of the first blessings of mankind, I cannot but rejoyce in the probability there is that France will acquire it. . . ." A postscript in this letter informed Jefferson that it would be "convey'd . . . by Mr. Dugald Stewart Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh." Through the happy intermediation of Richard Price, Jefferson and Dugald Stewart opened a friendship which brought them together as witnesses of the events of the revolutionary upheaval. Thus Jefferson, linked arm in arm with the greatest Scottish philosopher of the time, could turn from the absorbing scene before them to those fundamental discussions on the moral and intellectual nature of man which in many ways precede and surpass the drama of politics.

Both mistakes and penetrating perceptions may be discerned in the cumulative picture of the opening of the French Revolution as Jefferson presents it in this volume. In a letter to Paine, Jefferson confides his hope that France will achieve something in between the American type of freedom and the British constitutional system, not as good as the first nor as bad as the second! But he also sees that France is "on the brink of civil war"—"From this, heaven preserve your country and countrymen," he writes to his friend, Madame de Corny. That Jefferson knew the harsh and terrifying realities of a revolutionary struggle is also apparent, perhaps most eloquently in the advice he tenders Lafayette, only two days after the Estates General had opened. Avoid, he says, giving "an appearance of trimming between the two parties which may lose you both. You will in the end go over wholly to the tiers etat, because it will be impossible for you to live in a constant sacrifice of your own sentiments to the prejudices of the Noblesse. But you would be received by the tiers etat at any future day, coldly and without confidence. It appears to me the moment to take at once that honest and manly stand



with them which your principles dictate." He further adds that if violence should be attempted, Lafayette would not be able to "array" himself *against* the people. "That is impossible. Your instructions are indeed a difficulty. But to state this at it's worst, it is only a single difficulty, which a single effort surmounts."

This advice is a Jeffersonian confession of faith, the faith he had had before he arrived on the "vaunted scene of Europe" five years earlier, and that all the complex demands and dangerous challenges of his experience in France had re-enforced rather than weakened.

*University of California, Berkeley*

ADRIENNE KOCH

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Volume XVI, 30 NOVEMBER 1789 TO 4 JULY 1790. Edited by *Julian P. Boyd et al.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xliii, 675. \$12.50.)

THIS is perhaps one of the most interesting volumes issued in the series of Jefferson papers under Boyd's fine editorship. It covers the crucial period when, after returning to Virginia from Paris, Jefferson reluctantly acquiesced in Washington's wish that he serve as Secretary of State. After his decision to accept, he delivered a notable pronouncement of his political faith. This was embodied in his response to an address of welcome from his fellow citizens of Albemarle County. Declaring that his exertions "in the holy cause of freedom" had had "no other merit than that they were my best," he went on to proclaim that "It rests now with ourselves alone to enjoy in peace and concord the blessings of self-government, so long denied to mankind: to shew by example the sufficiency of human reason for the care of human affairs and that the will of the majority, Natural law of every society, is the only sure guardian of the rights of man."

Another topic of interest is Jefferson's activity in connection with the distribution of a series of commemorative medals struck in France by authority of the old Congress in honor of noteworthy American heroes. Likewise described in this volume are the details of much private business transacted by him while in Virginia. He settled his father's and sister's estates and executed bonds to British merchants in excess of £ 6,522 to liquidate old debts before assuming his duties as Secretary of State. He asked Madison to explain to Washington another important reason for his delay in setting out for New York: the necessity of completing the marriage settlement of his daughter Martha. The wedding ceremony had to await the arrival of the groom's aged and ailing father, who was able to "come only a day or two before that to arrange the provision we mean to make for the young couple, and that this may be perfectly valid it's [*sic*] execution must take place before the marriage. Thus you see that the happiness of a child, for life, would be hazarded were I to go away before this arrangement is made."

Fascinating details also emerge from Jefferson's instructions to William Short regarding the shipment of Jefferson's household goods from Paris. Short's dis-

patches on the progress of the French Revolution, his disappointment that Jefferson did not return to France, and his downcast appraisal of his own future upon being passed over as Jefferson's successor, add poignancy.

As Secretary of State, Jefferson efficiently attacked the arrears of accumulated business. It is quite characteristic, as Boyd states, that one of the first things the new Secretary did was to "increase greatly the supplies of quills and stationery, to procure a magnificent folio volume for recording his official reports formally and permanently, and, most significant of all, to purchase a copying press for the department." In spite of severe headaches, he formulated for Congress detailed proposals regarding coinage, weights, and measures and participated in the bargain involving assumption of state debts and the location of the national capital in Washington. His coming conflict with Hamilton over foreign commerce and financial speculation was foreshadowed.

Boyd's editorial associates in this volume of the series are Alfred L. Bush, assistant editor, and Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., consulting editor. The vast mass of routine papers handled by Jefferson during his service as Secretary of State necessitates summary treatment of unimportant items, the same practice followed in earlier volumes dealing with the period when Jefferson was governor of Virginia. This volume, as the preceding ones, exemplifies the highest editorial standards.

*Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*

EDWARD DUMBAULD

THEIR BROTHERS' KEEPERS: MORAL STEWARDSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES, 1800-1865. By *Clifford S. Griffin*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 332. \$6.00.)

So many historians in this generation seem to be more interested in polemics than in research. Their chief objective too often is merely to prove that the interpretations of yesterday were in error. One can almost hear the glee with which the devastating footnotes are set down in the hope of proving that some earlier historian misread his evidence. One wonders whether this should be the main purpose of historical research and writing.

However that may be, it is refreshing to read a monograph that truly advances our knowledge, that is firmly based on previous historical studies, and that builds beyond anything previous historians concerned with the same general subject have achieved. Clifford S. Griffin's *Their Brothers' Keepers* belongs in that category. Its author knows the secondary sources, but he has pushed on in directions only vaguely indicated by his predecessors, and he has found many things that they missed. He does not, however, stop to gloat over that fact. He presents his well-considered synthesis with the sort of humility that should mark all scholarship.

His theme is "moral stewardship in the United States from the beginning of

the nineteenth century to the close of the Civil War." He tells the story of the "would-be overseers of their brethren's conduct" who felt that it was their "God-given duty to reform sinners, encourage the penitent and shape the land in a heavenly form." So much in the plans, purposes, and activities of these heirs of "the stewardship tradition of the Calvinistic past" is repetitive and monotonous that this might have been a dull book. It is not. Griffin is a skilled literary craftsman, as well as a perceptive historian.

Here for the first time the various reform societies of the early nineteenth century are significantly related to each other and to the political and economic changes, as rural America became steadily more urban. The core of American trusteeship—whether one's interest was primarily in the American Education Society, the American Sunday School Union, the American Tract Society, the American Peace Society, the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, or the American Antislavery Society—seems to have been the sense of obligation to make people conform to a particular Protestant interpretation of the gospel. The societies formed by the "trustees of the Lord" at first relied on persuasion to convince their fellow countrymen, but the resistance of many to "moral suasion" caused the stewards to turn to political action. The demand for national and state legislation to make people moral became more strident during the 1840's and 1850's.

This political pressure of the members of the benevolent societies had a profound influence, as Dean Roy F. Nichols has demonstrated, on the disruption of the Democrats, the disappearance of the Whigs, and the rise of the Republican party. "From Calvinists to Republicans, from John Winthrop to William E. Dodge," writes Griffin, "the trustees had sought the rule of the righteous and the jurisdiction of the just." By the close of the Civil War they had fixed morality by persuasion and morality by compulsion as enduring features of American life.

*Columbia University*

JOHN A. KROUT

TRENDS IN THE AMERICAN ECONOMY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: A REPORT OF THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH, NEW YORK. [Studies in Income and Wealth, Volume XXIV, by the Conference on Research in Income and Wealth.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 780. \$15.00.)

WHETHER considered physically or by intellectual content, this book is weighty. Consisting of eighteen articles and nearly as many commentaries, it travels a varied road bordered on one side by the economic statistician and on the other by the economic historian. Occasionally it tries to fuse or synthesize the two groups, not always with unqualified success.

The crux of the book lies in its attempt to reach definitive conclusions, utilizing materials that are far from definitive. An apologetic tone pervades throughout,

because one or another author is having to work from incomplete data. The apologies are actually unnecessary, for the essays and concomitant commentaries make full use of whatever statistical and other economic information is lately available and compress those varied facts and surmises into meaningful packages. If the authors had waited for comprehensive evidence, we would undoubtedly know considerably less about nineteenth-century trends in the American economy than we now do, and we might possibly wait years to reach the point to which this volume brings us.

We may forget that some of the historical data, including those from fragmentary censuses, are imperfect, and forget too that some of the estimates, or more accurately, guesses, will not meet the standards of scientific scholarship. The results remain positive, and the reconstructions, whether based on contemporary materials or on conjecture projected backward, have significance.

In a work such as this, the problem of whether to approach it as a dozen and a half individual efforts or whether to try to see it as a cohesive whole invariably arises. Surprisingly, the work has remarkable cohesion, undoubtedly because of the abilities of Harold F. Williamson and his colleagues and the editing scalpel of William N. Parker. Four essays survey the United States for commodity output, interregional differences in income, retail prices, and growth of output; one accounts for the development of Canada's economy for the half century before 1900; four deal with the origin of income; and three look into factor payments, two into investment, and four into balance of payments.

But when the grand tour through this maze of subjects is completed, the one overriding theme that remains is that all readers and toilers should beware. "To know U. S. railroad mileage statistics is to doubt them," writes George Rogers Taylor. A variation of this sentence could well have led off every article. But to refuse to tackle a subject because data are erratic is to refuse to share partial conclusions that are well thought out and suggestive. If I may be bromidic, it is necessary to learn to walk before learning to run. This volume constitutes a most significant and scholarly walk down the divided highway of economics and history.

*University of Texas*

JOE B. FRANTZ

THE SOUTHWEST: OLD AND NEW. By *W. Eugene Hollon*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1961. Pp. xiv, 486, xviii. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Hollon limits his Southwest to the four states of Texas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Arizona, and in his preface acknowledges the difficulty of the task he has undertaken. "No combination of states," he writes, "has an extensive set of characteristics peculiarly its own." Another factor is that certain subjects that are linked with the region, such as the war with Mexico and subsequent developments, call for the inclusion of more territory.

Within designated limits, the author proceeds in traditional fashion with such fundamental topics as the land, its climate and resources, its prehistory, the Indians, the Spanish, French, and Anglo-American approach, and the clash of civilizations. The subject of life and culture in the republic of Texas is given a full chapter and early day mining, pioneer transportation, and the Civil War take up a chapter each. Three chapters are devoted to subjects associated with the region in a special way: cattle and sheep raising, Indians, and the dual subject of aridity and water conservation. Other matters are considered as the author felt they merited treatment in a one-volume work on the history of a region that varies widely in such features as climate, races, and general background. Completeness and continuity, therefore, are necessarily lacking in some places. In the chapter on "Completion of Statehood" there is considerable history of the later territorial era of Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona. In his "Politics and Politicians" the author is sketchy. He emphasizes the industry and culture of the several parts of the region. Anecdotes and humorous comment enliven the pages throughout.

In dealing with a region noted for its colorful and spectacular history Hollon has not failed to exploit themes of action and excitement: the adventures of explorers, the overland mail, stampeding herds, and towns at the ends of the cattle trails. This emphasis on the spectacular is carried over into politics, where he deals extensively with such public figures as James E. Ferguson ("Farmer Jim") and W. Lee O'Daniel ("Pass the biscuits, Pappy") of Texas and William H. Murray (Alfalfa Bill) of Oklahoma. These men are well sketched against the political scenes of their respective states, but it may be contended that they were more spectacular than typical. Industry, wealth, and general prosperity, the author states, have made the formerly liberal Southwest conservative.

This study comes from extensive research and much travel. Hollon has sketched in clear and readable fashion the early history of the Southwest and has described, compared, and evaluated the twentieth-century institutions of the four states included. The book gives a relatively clear and concise account of the development of the region and is a distinct contribution to its history.

*Hardin-Simmons University*

RUPERT N. RICHARDSON

THE PAPERS OF HENRY CLAY. Volume II, THE RISING STATESMAN, 1815-1820. Edited by *James F. Hopkins*. Associate Editor, *Mary W. M. Hargreaves*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1961. Pp. viii, 939. \$15.00.)

THE six years covered by the letters and documents that comprise this second volume of Clay papers were crucial years, both for the United States and for Henry Clay. They began with high national purpose, best expressed in the series of measures Clay later christened the "American System," and ended in sectional bitterness as the admission of Missouri to the Union injected the slavery issue into

politics. In the same six years Clay consolidated his role as business spokesman, sharpened his skill as a debater, established his reputation as a political negotiator, and proclaimed himself—by deed if not yet by word—as a future contender for the presidency. By the end of 1820 no man in active public life was more widely known or wielded greater influence.

Clay's preoccupation with politics still left him time to deal extensively in real estate, to engage in a wide-ranging law practice, to experiment with improved livestock. As congressman he performed all the usual chores for his constituents, giving letters of introduction, pressing claims, procuring documents, answering questions, soliciting offices and contracts, all without ever losing sight of his own unarticulated goal. He had hardly returned from Europe, where the Treaty of Ghent had been followed by a successful commercial treaty with Great Britain, before he declined the mission to Russia. He refused the War Department from Madison's hands, and again from Monroe; he found compelling reasons why he should not run for governor of Kentucky. But the State Department was the traditional highroad to the White House, and his disappointment shouts from between the lines when the coveted office went to Adams.

The volume contains relatively few speeches. Clay did not often leave the Speaker's chair to take the floor, but when he did, he made the effort count. He used his championship of South American independence as a vehicle for attacking Adams. When Jackson's star rose, he turned military policy into a weapon against his western rival; his statement of the case for protection of domestic industry was an argument against William H. Crawford. Yet his opposition to restriction of slavery in Missouri was accompanied only by public and private pleas for compromise based on mutual concession and good will.

Like its predecessor, this skillfully edited volume, even though much of the material is familiar, is invaluable to the understanding both of a critical period in our history and of the personality of one of its chief architects.

*Washington, D. C.*

CHARLES M. WILTSE

NORTH OF SLAVERY: THE NEGRO IN THE FREE STATES, 1790-1860. By *Leon F. Litwack*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 318. \$6.00.)

THIS book promptly ranks with the major works on the history of American Negroes. In addition it provides instructive background reading for those who would understand and appreciate the astonishing, if overdue, improvements in the status of the Negro in recent years. It is a triumph of careful scholarship and straightforward historical writing. The reader is left in no doubt concerning the author's sympathies and indignations, but Litwack keeps his emotions calmly in check. The result is a highly informative chapter of American history and a sobering indictment.

*North of Slavery* makes it abundantly clear that the federal government, before 1860, threw its weight against the Negro's aspirations; that the judicial disaster of the Dred Scott decision, as one colored crusader declared, merely confirmed "the already well known fact that under the Constitution and Government of the United States, the colored people are nothing and can be nothing but an alien, disfranchised and degraded class." Northern state and local legal and extralegal discriminations, powerfully reinforced by public opinion and presumptions of natural white superiority, were even more catastrophic, and consigned the free people of color to a condition scarcely more enviable, and sometimes very much the contrary, than that of their fettered kinsmen in the slave states.

Free northern Negroes were forbidden to migrate from state to state. They were excluded from the franchise in those states in which more than 90 per cent of them lived. They were denied the right to sue or to serve as jurors, judges, or witnesses in the courts. Common carriers, public facilities, and (with astonishing inflexibility) the church either excluded them or relegated them to Jim Crow sections. Schools closed their doors to them, and virtually every employment save that of the menial was reserved to the white man. Even the common Negro day laborer faced the fierce hostility of white workers fearful of competition.

Belief in the Negro's inherent inferiority was all but universally embraced in the pre-Civil War North, even among those most disposed to assist him in his aspirations to social redemption. Everywhere the stereotype and the external symbols of his degradation were insisted upon. In the very potter's field of Cincinnati, Harriet Beecher Stowe's home town, whites were buried east and west and Negroes north and south.

We have long needed a comprehensive, scholarly, and candid survey of the ante bellum northern Negro. It is here at last, well written, overwhelmingly documented, a splendid monograph. Footnotes are at the bottom of the page, where they belong, and there is a thorough bibliographical essay.

*Woman's College, University of North Carolina*

RICHARD BARDOLPH

A CENTURY OF CIVIL RIGHTS. By *Milton R. Konvitz*. With a Study of State Law against Discrimination by *Theodore Leskes*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 293. \$6.00.)

THIS book consists of two discrete studies. The first is by Professor Konvitz of Cornell's law faculty, whose contributions to the literature on liberty in America are deservedly prominent. His purpose here is not, as the poor title suggests, to offer an overview of a century of progress in the general field of civil rights. Rather it is to present a brief survey of the long road that American Negroes are still traveling from slavery to freedom, and a lawyerlike description of efforts in Congress to sustain that freedom. Accepting the assumptions of certain re-revisionists among historians, Konvitz applauds the abolitionists and Radical Republicans. He



sees the Civil War as a time of fruitful accomplishment, for the South would never have volunteered emancipation. Long before Sumter, state laws in the South were closing the last legal doors to freedom or manumission. In a section where "a featherless biped, black in color, who was not a slave" was unwelcome, free Negroes could no longer be tolerated. The South was stripping itself of its Jeffersonian heritage and accepting the proposition that all men are created unequal. Not even Appomattox was adequate to alter this conviction. Therefore Reconstruction was necessary and proper, "a monument to faith in human equality," Konvitz asserts. For the first time in America's history the national government took the side of civil liberty and sought to prevent the commission of the bill of wrongs implicit in the Bill of Rights. Failing, and accepting as the signal of failure the Supreme Court's negative judgment on Congress' powers in the Civil Rights Cases in 1883, congressmen did not try again until 1957.

In all this Konvitz is on firm ground, clearly marked by the pioneering scholarship of Nevins, Donald, Stamp, Franklin, Brodie, McKittrick, and others. But in comparing the way American Negro slavery developed with the pattern of slavery in other lands, Konvitz relies on the work of Tannenbaum and the more recent study by Elkins. Here he stumbles in not taking into account the criticisms offered by scholars of the Tannenbaum-Elkins viewpoint. And he ignores the possibilities for useful comparisons available in the recent literature on the free Negro resident of the northern states.

Despite this substantial deficiency in its balance, and in the transitionless, topical organization, Konvitz' chapters in this volume capture the heart if not the mind of the reader. He is a sober crusader, conscious of the fiery truth that without equality for the Negro there is no liberty for the white.

Mr. Leskes, the able attorney who presents in the second half of this book a useful survey of the little-known development of state laws against discrimination, is also a libertarian champion. Unfortunately the warmth of his dedication comes through less clearly than was true for Konvitz. Perhaps this is occasioned by the fact that Leskes could not focus on a single target of discrimination. Most states' laws on this theme seek to protect religious and ethnic as well as racial minorities. Therefore, the story of the several states' (but not in the South) attempts to achieve through law fair practices in employment, housing, and education has a shotgun quality that Leskes fails to center for the reader. What emerges from his useful broadside is a mass of convenient information on the problems of enforcing such laws, and a whole array of starting points for individual investigations into the field of the states and civil liberty.

Taken together, the Konvitz-Leskes studies are disappointing. Useful for the historian and for the lawyer, they are not the synthetic statement that students need and the subject deserves.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

HAROLD M. HYMAN

LINCOLN DAY BY DAY: A CHRONOLOGY, 1809-1865. Volume III, 1861-1865. By C. Percy Powell. Earl Schenck Miers, Editor in Chief. (Washington, D. C.: Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission. 1960. Pp. xiii, 487. \$2.50.)

ON February 19, 1864, a "fair, plump lady" from Dubuque forced her way into the cabinet room of the White House on the excuse that she merely wanted to look at Abraham Lincoln. Her incursion was just part of the President's busy program for that day, which included recognizing a new consul from Costa Rica, giving a reception for two midgets, and attending a performance of *Richard III*, starring Edwin Booth. For anyone who thinks that a President's life is an endless round of ponderous brooding over cosmic problems, this new volume of the *Lincoln Day by Day* series will be most instructive, as well as amusing, reading. Here is a detailed chronology of Lincoln's life from January 1, 1861, to the day of his death. It admirably supplements the two previously published volumes in this set (*AHR*, LXVI [Jan. 1961], 535) and in some ways is more important than they are; the earlier volumes were essentially expansions of already published chronologies, but the present one covers entirely new ground.

The editor of this volume, Dr. C. Percy Powell of the Library of Congress, has ascertained Lincoln's whereabouts for all but 41 of the 1,566 days covered in his chronology, and 26 of these missing days were Sundays. Powell not merely locates Lincoln, but summarizes his activities and those of his official and private family, giving also selected quotations to "reveal his grasp of the duties of Chief Executive, of Commander in Chief in time of war, and as a man of tenderness and sympathy toward the personal problems of others."

Drawing heavily upon Roy P. Basler's definitive edition of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* and upon the printed diaries of Edward Bates, Salmon P. Chase, John Hay, George Templeton Strong, and Gideon Welles, Powell's chronology is also based upon extensive research in the newspapers and in unpublished manuscript collections, particularly those in the District of Columbia. One misses, however, references to papers located elsewhere (in Massachusetts alone, the Charles Francis Adams MSS., the Edward Everett MSS., the Richard H. Dana MSS., and the Charles Sumner MSS.). But research for a project of this magnitude must be "necessarily selective," and it is certainly thorough enough to satisfy all but the most exacting. A more serious problem is raised by Powell's conception of his editorial role; apparently he does not regard it as his function to test the validity of the data he presents but to record whatever writers have reported Lincoln was doing on certain dates. As a consequence, he includes some dubious recollections, like Henry B. Rankin's *Intimate Character Sketches of Abraham Lincoln*, and cites weak and slipshod secondary accounts, like Fletcher Pratt's *History of the Civil War* and Don C. Seitz's *Lincoln the Politician*. Without comment he tells the shaky story that on July 14, 1864, young Oliver Wendell Holmes brought the President down from the exposed parapet of Fort Stevens by

shouting, "Get down, you fool," and the equally questionable anecdote that Edwin M. Stanton said, "Now he belongs to the ages."

Despite these deficiencies, however, Powell's elaborate and scholarly record will at once be recognized as an indispensable tool, not merely for the Lincoln specialist but for all students of the Civil War era. Certainly it will fulfill the editor's hope that his book "will serve those interested in Abraham Lincoln as a framework for the collection and collation of additional information about him."

*Princeton University*

DAVID DONALD

INDUSTRY COMES OF AGE: BUSINESS, LABOR, AND PUBLIC POLICY, 1860-1897. By *Edward C. Kirkland*. [The Economic History of the United States, Volume VI.] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1961. Pp. xiv, 445. \$7.50.)

For some time now Edward C. Kirkland has been calling upon American historians to discard their preconceptions concerning the last three or four decades of the nineteenth century and to examine anew the evidence bearing on this period. In the present work, Kirkland offers us his own interpretation of the American economy during these years. Utilizing a topical approach, he has included interesting and well-written chapters not only on aspects of the economy that have already been the subject of extensive treatment, such as the trusts, the money question, and railroads, but also on relatively neglected matters like the recruitment and training of workers, the methods by which expansion was financed, and the relationship between urban growth and industrial progress.

Throughout, the author strikes a positive note in his description of the economy, and to his own final question "Was It All Wrong?" he provides the answer that it was pretty much all right. He is impressed with the over-all performance of the economy, the ability and frequent farsightedness of the business leaders ("It matters little if one calls them 'captains of industry' or 'robber barons'; they were men of ability"), the good sense of many of the labor leaders, and the "vital function" performed by the bankers.

Kirkland avoids many of the errors made in other accounts of this period. He is aware of the divisions within the business community on such issues as greenbacks, railroad regulation, trusts, and the tariff. He sees that the labor leaders often shared the basic beliefs of the employers. He appreciates that the opponents of the trusts were not necessarily men of greater morality than the defenders of consolidation.

In explaining the remarkable transformation of the American economy after 1860, Kirkland quite rightly notes that factors outside the economy were of great significance, but he is rather vague in his discussion of these factors. He refers occasionally to "the character of American institutions," "the talent for business enterprise," "patriotism," and "national qualities" as helping to explain American economic progress, but he tends to assert rather than to demonstrate

the importance of these intangibles, and nowhere does he analyze in a really rigorous manner the causes for America's economic growth during these years.

The strengths and weaknesses of this volume derive in large part from Kirkland's approach to his subject. In his preface, he notes that he has tried "to find out how the period looked to contemporaries who participated in its activities: politicians and businessmen and labor leaders." The use of this method gives a human quality to Kirkland's volume that is absent in all too many economic histories, and it has enabled the author to challenge some of the popularly held views about his period. The evidence, however, does not speak for itself, and Kirkland's use of his data is not always above criticism. For example, he is sometimes insufficiently concerned with the extent to which the actual behavior of his witnesses diverged from their expressed opinions. The author thus accepts at face value statements made by Carnegie in 1886 that his experience had been that trade-unions were "upon the whole . . . beneficial" and that he doubted the wisdom of using strikebreakers, but he does not tell us that these assertions were totally at variance with the behavior of the Carnegie enterprises both before and after 1886.

Kirkland also tends to select from his sources those expressions of opinion which, on the whole, reflect rather favorably on the business leadership of this period. He thus cites Richard T. Ely's observation in 1885 that rents at Pullman were about three-fifths what they were in Chicago, but does not mention the conclusion of the United States Strike Commission following the Pullman strike of 1894 that rents in the model town, excluding the aesthetic and sanitary features, were "from 20 to 25 per cent higher than rents in Chicago and surrounding towns for similar accommodations." Though he notes that Carnegie wrote Edward Atkinson in 1890 that the tariff was "trifling," he might also have indicated that Carnegie, who admittedly was far from rabid on the subject, made it clear five years later that the substantive reductions in the duties on coal, iron ore, iron, and steel imposed by the Wilson-Gorman Tariff were quite sufficient, that he was opposed to any further reductions of the tariff on these items, and that in tariff revision doubts should be resolved in favor of the higher rather than the lower duty.

One suspects that to many American historians it will still "matter," even after reading this volume, whether the American business leaders of the late nineteenth century were robber barons or industrial statesmen or an amalgam of the two, for otherwise we are in danger of confusing means and ends and of ignoring the ethics of human behavior. Also, although many historians have unquestionably overstressed the protests of the discontented and the extent of social conflict during this era, we may be equally inclined today, as John Higham has pointed out, to exaggerate the degree of social consensus that prevailed in the American past. After all, there was sufficient discontent with things as they were in the late nineteenth century to give rise to a progressive movement within a few brief years after the closing date of Kirkland's volume.

*University of Michigan*

SIDNEY FINE

IMMIGRATION AND AMERICAN HISTORY: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF  
THEODORE C. BLEGEN. Edited by *Henry Steele Commager*. (Minneapolis:  
University of Minnesota Press. 1961. Pp. x, 166. \$4.50.)

DEAN Blegen's notable career at the University of Minnesota is proof that a good administrator, if he has the ability and the will to work, need not surrender the pleasures of productive scholarship for the burdens of academic management. The extensive bibliography of Blegen's writings is impressive both for size and his wide range of interests. Blegen is a recognized authority on immigration; he made the historical society of his state a model for other states, and the Norwegian-American Historical Association is another monument to his achievements. Above all, here is a distinguished scholar whose genuine humanitarianism led him to explore, with sympathy and understanding, the experiences of the forgotten men and women who never made the history books but who helped build this nation. Although the transit of civilization from the Old to the New World is the oldest theme in American history, it has been exploited only recently by scholars. The essays in this volume, an "animated *Festschrift*," as Professor Henry Commager points out in a charming introduction, are the product of a conference at the University of Minnesota early in 1960, in Blegen's honor.

Oscar Handlin's reappraisal of immigration history covers the ground from the earlier filiopietistic writers to the most recent products of modern scholarship. Ingrid Semmingen discusses the American image in Europe, largely from Norwegian sources. Philip Jordan contributes a sprightly essay on "The Stranger Looks at the Yankee," and John T. Flanagan's treatment of the immigrant theme in western fiction contains considerable new material. Carleton Qualey, in two articles, discusses immigration as a world phenomenon and suggests source materials for further study, including "America letters," government, railroad and steamship company archives, and foreign-language newspapers, which could be preserved in microfilm. Franklin D. Scott argues for the study of immigration in the framework of national groups; Coleman J. Barry calls for further studies on nativism, and immigration into the Far West, and Blegen closes the symposium with one of his delightful pieces, in which he suggests that the time may have arrived to establish a "Journal of Immigration."

In these essays one finds a plethora of proposals for further detailed studies in this important field, which must be made before the sources are dispersed or lost. The broad outlines of American immigration history probably will not be changed significantly now that an epoch in United States history has come to a close, but many gaps in the story remain to be filled. This volume is a worthy tribute to a scholar to whom all who work in the field will continue to owe a heavy debt of gratitude.

*Western Reserve University*

CARL WITKE

AMERICA'S POLISH HERITAGE: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE POLES IN AMERICA. By *Joseph A. Wytrwal*. (Detroit, Mich.: Endurance Press. 1961. Pp. xxxi, 350. \$6.50.)

FIVE of the thirteen chapters of this book make a worthy contribution to the social history of "American Polonia." They deal with the institutional history of the economic emigration from partitioned Poland after 1870.

Dr. Wytrwal ably presents the bitter experience of Catholic peasants and their Polish priests with the monopolistic-minded Irish hierarchy of America whose inconsiderate attitude was mainly responsible for the 1904 creation of the Polish-National Catholic Church in Scranton, Pennsylvania. Ever since the 1854 erection of the first Polish-American church in Panna Maria, Texas, with a large cross brought from the native parish church, "the Polish immigrant regarded his parish in America as both a religious and community center, a replica of his village. . . ." Indeed, the fine church buildings raised with a great financial strain by the hard-working immigrants on Canfield Street in Detroit and in other not too attractive areas of Chicago or Milwaukee will remain as a more lasting Polish contribution to American civilization than polka bands, baseball stars, or the "kielbasa z kapustą" (sausage with cabbage) rustic meal.

The sober chapter on "Dissolution and Asseveration" deals with acculturation in the interwar period of Polonia's inevitable Americanization. The Polish-American of the second generation usually preferred to avoid the dilemma of split personality and rather indulged himself in the melting pot. Escaping from the marginal ghetto society of the hyphenated, low income group of their parents' generation, most of them were not willing to think in the sophisticated terms of cultural pluralism. While stressing that even the stalwart Polish National Alliance embraced in the 1920's the new doctrine "The Emigrant Group for the Emigrant Group," switching its primary attention to the economic and social advancement of Americans of Polish descent, Wytrwal rightly points out the successes exemplified by the continued growth of such institutions as Alliance College at Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania, the Kościuszko Foundation in New York, the American Council of Polish Clubs, and the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in New York.

The uneven first half of the book suffers from uncritical reliance on some obsolete secondary sources. Particularly erratic is Wytrwal's presentation of the "Great Emigration" which, by the way, did not reach its peak in America in 1830 but some five years later. The 630 soldiers deported in 1833 by the Prussians never reached the United States, but were disembarked from the three frigates in Channel ports of Portsmouth, Harwich, and Le Havre, while the 234 exiles who arrived in New York from Austria in April 1834 were not happy emigrants but political prisoners deported by Metternich's one-sided decision. It was the committee formed immediately upon their arrival which was the first officially recog-

nized Polish-American organization and not the younger "Association of Poles in America."

The claim that the exiles left almost no trace of their patriotic activities in the United States except the antislavery "Democratic Society of Polish Refugees in America" founded in 1852 is not quite consistent with the decisive impact exercised on the very creation of fraternal organizations by Katussowski, Giller, Andrzejkowicz, and Father Dąbrowski, or the great influence exercised upon Polonia during the two wars by the virtuoso Paderewski and the publicist Matuszewski. Wytrwal's statement that "the peasant had no intention of bringing about the restoration of Poland" requires qualification. At least since the beginning of this century the political-minded Polish peasantry, well organized by such leaders as Witos and Rataj, played an important role in achieving and strengthening national independence. The Polish Peasant party was in the forefront of the anti-Nazi resistance movement and in the postwar struggle with the Moscow imposed Communist rulers.

Careless proofreading is responsible for numerous errors. In spite of the book's shortcomings, historians of Polish-American relations will appreciate Wytrwal's well-meaning, if not pedantic, spadework.

*Asia Foundation*

JERZY J. LERSKI

REAL WAGES IN MANUFACTURING, 1890-1914. By *Albert Rees*. Assisted by *Donald P. Jacobs*. [National Bureau of Economic Research, Number 70, General Series.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xvi, 163. \$3.75.)

THIS is a careful and competent statistical study of part of the subject I dealt with over thirty years ago in my *Real Wages in the United States, 1890-1926*. I hope to be pardoned, therefore, for comparing the methods and conclusions of the two studies.

As the title indicates, Mr. Rees does not deal with the years 1914-1926 which were included in my study, and he also confines himself to manufacturing, whereas I also included an additional and approximately equal number of workers in such other fields as transportation, public utilities, mining, government, business, religion, and agriculture. Rees, moreover, deals primarily with hourly "wages" while my study covered full-time and actual weekly earnings and average annual earnings in addition to hourly rates and earnings.

On the question of real hourly earnings, Rees comes to the conclusion that they increased by 40 per cent from 1890 to 1914, whereas my study showed an increase of only 8 per cent. This difference is primarily caused by the fact that my index of the cost of living showed an increase of 34 per cent during this period while Rees's index gives a rise of only 10 per cent.

My wage index was built up directly from data collected by the US Bureau of



Labor Statistics for fourteen industries. In six cases, these were union rates and in eight, they were derived from a sampling of payroll data. The weighted average of the fourteen was 19.9 cents in 1890 and 28.7 cents in 1914, or an increase of 43 per cent. Rees decided, with some justice, that this gave a greater importance to union rates than their numbers in fact deserved and used a complicated and indirect method of computation to obtain hourly averages. First, he obtained figures of probable yearly earnings using sources and methods which appeared almost identical with those that I employed. He then reduced these yearly averages to daily figures by dividing them by estimates of the average number of days in which factories in Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania were in operation in each of the years. Then the daily averages were reduced to hourly wages by dividing them by an estimate of average hours per week. This turns out to be based in part upon my data, and the movement is almost identical, namely, at approximately 60.0 hours in 1890 to 55.2 (55.5) in 1914. Ultimately, Rees's average hourly earnings are lower than mine over the whole range, 14.4 cents in 1890 rather than 19.9 cents and 22.0 cents in 1914 rather than 28.7 cents.

My index somewhat overstated the actual wage rates in the so-called "union" industries which were given about 30 per cent of the weights in the all-manufacturing series, and this was particularly the case for foundries and machine shops. On the other hand, Rees's indirect method has so many possibilities of error in reducing yearly to daily earnings that any overstatement of the days in which factories were in operation in the three states in question would correspondingly depress the hourly rates. That there may have been such a systematic bias is certainly suggested by the fact that for 1904, the average number of such days, according to Rees, for his three states was 288 whereas the census average for the United States as a whole was only 263. Rees's figure was, therefore, a full 9 per cent higher than that of the census.

If the census figure is correct, and it would certainly seem to be more reliable, this would have raised Rees's figure on hourly earnings from 16.9 to 18.4 cents and have correspondingly diminished the differential between his average and my figure of 23.6 cents. I am inclined to believe, therefore, that the real truth lies somewhere between our two results.

While there are differences between our absolute figures for the "union" industries, the relative movements of our two indexes of hourly money earnings for all manufacturing is, as Rees states, "similar." His index for 1914 is 52.9 per cent above 1890; mine is 44.2 per cent higher. The major difference in our indexes of real earnings is caused, therefore, by differences in our indexes of living costs, namely, as I have said, 10 per cent in his as compared with 34 per cent in mine.

At the time I made my studies, the only series of retail prices which were then available were those for food for the entire period and for spirits and tobacco for the last seven years. I was unable to include rent and had to make estimates for clothing, furniture, tobacco, and spirits by adjusting their wholesale indexes by

the relative fluctuations of the retail index for foods from its wholesale index. This was admittedly unsatisfactory, but it was the best I could do at the time. Working with the ample funds of the National Bureau of Economic Research, Rees has now computed an index of rents based on newspaper advertisements in six metropolitan centers and of clothing and home furnishings based on the catalogues of Sears-Roebuck and Montgomery Ward, together with an improved index for fuel and light.

His price indexes for clothing and home furnishings, which show actual decreases of between 25 per cent and 18 per cent, respectively, certainly seem, however, to be highly questionable. Since Rees gives weights of 17.9 and 4.5 per cent respectively to these two groups, this in all probability introduces a serious downward bias in his cost of living index and a reciprocal upward bias in his index of real wages. This judgment tends to be confirmed by the fact that the Bureau of Labor Statistics wholesale price index for home furnishings for the same period increased by no less than 38 per cent while Rees's retail index was showing a decrease of 18 per cent and that the Bureau of Labor Statistics' wholesale price index for clothing rose by 4 per cent during the very period that Rees's retail index fell by 25 per cent. It seems almost incredible that there could have been such country-wide decreases in the retail prices of clothing and home furnishings as Rees shows in the face of the actual increases in the corresponding wholesale prices.

In the case of rents, Rees's problem was to determine whether the apartments and houses offered in the newspaper advertisements were comparable. There is no doubt that Rees did his best, but is it probable that rent rose by only 7 per cent during this quarter of a century when the population of our cities was increasing so rapidly?

It would seem evident, therefore, that the author's combined index appreciably understates the increase in living costs during this period and consequently overstates the increase in real wages.

Therefore, in conclusion: the actual hourly earnings in manufacturing were somewhat more than Rees's figures and somewhat less than mine; the relative increases in hourly earnings were very similar in the two indexes; my index of the cost of living probably overstates the rise during this quarter of a century while Rees's index understates it; the increase in real hourly earnings was greater than my estimates and less than those of Rees.

If a scholar works in this field thirty years from now with still better methods and sources, he will probably find that the truth lies between us, but I want to congratulate Rees on a well-done piece of work. It is a worthwhile contribution to economic history.

*Washington, D. C.*

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

AN UNCERTAIN TRADITION: AMERICAN SECRETARIES OF STATE  
IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Edited by *Norman A. Graebner*.

[McGraw-Hill Series in American History.] (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1961. Pp. ix, 341. \$6.95.)

THOUGH the devising and implementing of American foreign policy is a team effort, the Secretary of State is the highest ranking member of the team whose efforts can be exclusively devoted to foreign affairs. His office, therefore, provides a most useful vantage point from which to survey and evaluate the whole operation. Professor Graebner and his associates have rendered a real service in putting together these essays on fourteen of the Secretaries who have held office in the twentieth century. The editor contributes an introductory chapter ("The Year of Transition") on the watershed era of the Spanish-American War. Then follow analyses of the work of Hay by Foster Rhea Dulles, of Root by Charles W. Toth, of Knox by Walter Scholes, of Bryan by Richard Challener, of Lansing by Daniel M. Smith, of Hughes by John C. Vinson, of Kellogg by L. Ethan Ellis, of Stimson by Richard N. Current, of Hull by Donald F. Drummond, of Stettinius by Walter Johnson, of Byrnes by Richard D. Burns, of Marshall by Alexander DeConde, of Acheson by the editor, and of Dulles by Hans J. Morgenthau. Each chapter includes a discussion of the Secretary's background, his personality, relations with the President, Congress, the press, and the public, plus consideration of the key issues he faced and an evaluation of his policies and performance. With so much to be covered in such a limited space the treatments are necessarily brief to the point of terseness, but with the support of the appended bibliographies still give the impression of workmanlike competence.

Rather than attempt to select two or three of the contributions for special mention, it is more profitable to direct a critical evaluation to the common frame of reference adopted by the authors. This is described on the jacket as "a realistic judgment based on the concepts of the nineteenth century's classical age of diplomacy." Logical as such an approach may seem in a work ending with a chapter by Morgenthau, it obviously suggests the old military error of preparing to fight the last war instead of the next one. It seems fair to question whether the concepts of the earlier century can provide a sound basis for a realistic judgment today. Should future historians conclude that the atom bomb, or even mechanized warfare, made the nineteenth-century state system obsolete, they will presumably be more interested in measuring the statesmen of the twentieth century by their contributions, if any, to the development of some semblance of international order. For such an effort Morgenthau has, of course, provided some most helpful guidelines elsewhere.

If our chief concern continues to be the preservation of our national identity in a world of sovereign and rival states, our needs in the second half of the twentieth century would seem to require a reinterpretation of the national interest as a device for rating the thinking and performance of Secretaries of State. If that interest now requires concentration on improving the lot of the common man in the underdeveloped areas, there could be a spectacular rise in the stock of the much-maligned

Bryan, who alone among his fellows, so many of whom were men of wealth, seemed to have room in his thinking on economic matters for something more than the international equivalent of the trickle down theory. Readers who are familiar with the European conservative tradition will, I believe, feel that the evidence here presented strikingly bears out Reinhold Niebuhr's comments about the unfortunate weaknesses left in our national patterns of thinking by the almost complete lack of any such influence on this side of the Atlantic.

*University of Delaware*

MARSHALL KNAPPEN

BORAH. By *Marian C. McKenna*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1961. Pp. 450. \$7.50.)

It is not easy to write a good book on Borah. One reason for this is Borah himself, who during his lifetime contrived to be demonstrably wrong on a strikingly large number of important subjects. He began his career as an ardent advocate of free silver, a disease from which he never fully recovered. He opposed such constructive measures as the Federal Reserve Act, the Federal Trade Commission Act, and the Clayton Anti-Trust Act. He saw nothing wrong with the Panama Canal tolls exemption. He favored intervention in Mexico, or at least gave that impression. He opposed entrance into the League of Nations and acceptance of the World Court. He never gave up on prohibition. He used states rights arguments to oppose federal action on woman suffrage and lynching. He seemed to think that the farm problem could be settled by persuading more people to go back to the farms. He tried to defeat the Four-Power Treaty and placed unreasonable faith in the outlawry of war. He thought he could win a nomination for President when he was over seventy years of age and lacked firm financial backing. He said in 1939 that there would be no war in Europe and claimed that his information on the subject was better than Cordell Hull's when in fact he was relying mainly on statements in a London left-wing planographed magazine, *This Week*, available to anyone for two dollars a year.

How a man with Borah's fascination for the wrong answers could have loomed so large in American politics is a mystery still unsolved. Borah could marshal words, and he had a way with crowds, but his passion was to block action, not promote it. He took the same pride in the defeats he scored against popular measures that an Indian warrior might take in the scalps at his belt. Probably such a politician as Borah could never have survived politically except in a small western state that could dote on his nuisance value and cherish his right to be wrong.

Dr. McKenna has used, faithfully and well, the mountains of manuscript and documentary material available to her, but she has not really explained the phenomenon of Borah. She correctly calls attention to three of his articles of faith: that European and American interests were wholly antagonistic, with clever European diplomats ever alert to outwit the unwary Americans; that the fathers of

the Republic were the repositories of all important political wisdom; and that Americans must not compromise in any way on their devotion to nationalism. She finds it difficult to portray Borah against a background of progressivism, for he was less a progressive than an irregular, and on election years he was not even that. Earnest as her effort has been, we know little more about Borah than Claudius Johnson told us many years ago. Perhaps what the subject needs is not so much a historian as a psychiatrist.

*University of California, Berkeley*

JOHN D. HICKS

FRANK B. KELLOGG AND AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1925-1929. By *L. Ethan Ellis*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 303. \$7.50.)

PRIOR to the publication of this volume, two other books dealt with the diplomacy of Secretary of State Kellogg—David Bryn-Jones, *Frank B. Kellogg: A Biography* (1938), and Robert H. Ferrell, *Peace in Their Time: The Origins of the Kellogg-Briand Pact* (1952). This book is narrower in scope than Bryn-Jones's biography and broader than Ferrell's monograph. It concerns itself with Kellogg himself, with the role of the Secretary of State in the shaping of foreign policy, and with the wider problem of foreign relations in the Coolidge-Kellogg period. It covers such topics as the condition of the State Department under Kellogg, relations with Mexico, Nicaragua, and Latin America in general, relations with China, disarmament, the Kellogg-Briand Antiwar Treaty, war debts, and the World Court. The author has, moreover, made more extensive use of Kellogg's private papers, those of other important figures of the period, and of archival material from the Department of State, than have others who have probed the diplomatic record of this period.

Since the purpose of the book appears to be mainly the coherent presentation of foreign policy in the Coolidge-Kellogg years, it does not offer a broad thesis, wide-ranging analysis, or basically new interpretations. It is essentially a narrative history which at times appears overly concerned with unimportant details in relatively minor issues. The author is aware of this problem and has tried to overcome it by providing clear summaries at the end of most chapters. Whenever interpretation is offered, it is usually qualified and balanced. Ellis suggests, for instance, that Kellogg deserves recognition for helping to develop the multilateral approach that led ultimately to the Kellogg-Briand Pact and that Kellogg's secretaryship foreshadowed the improvement in relations with Latin America for which Hoover has received credit, but makes no strong claim for initiative on Kellogg's part in either case.

Given Kellogg's limited accomplishments, it may be that he does not deserve the attention historians have given him, that their efforts might better have been expended on more important men and periods. Ellis himself points out that Kel-

logg was merely a busy mediocrity. Nonetheless, it does seem that the historian has an obligation to assess the second-rate leaders as well as those of first rank. Only with careful and judicious studies, such as this one, of the lesser figures as well as the outstanding ones, can we truly hope to understand and draw meaning from our past. Moreover, as Ellis shows, Kellogg, despite his personal limitations, served as effectively as the government machinery of his day would permit. Not much more can be said of most national figures.

Working as a careful craftsman, basing his story on deep scholarship, and using clear prose, Ellis has made a noteworthy contribution to the history of the 1920's by giving us the most detailed and fullest synthesis of the diplomacy of Kellogg's secretaryship. Diplomatic historians will probably refer to it frequently, and it will most likely remain the standard work on its subject for many years to come.

*University of California, Santa Barbara*

ALEXANDER DeCONDE

CARL BECKER: A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY IN AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY. By *Burleigh Taylor Wilkins*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 246. \$5.50.)

To plot the intellectual development and successfully disclose the dilemma of a man whose career he could study only from the recorded evidence is in itself no inconsiderable achievement for a biographer; to succeed as well as Dr. Wilkins does in portraying the human traits and characteristics of a Becker whom he never knew, and link those attributes of personality integrally with the thinking, is remarkable. It is not amiss for one who did have the advantage of long and close contact with Becker to welcome with pleasure the publication of this full-length "intellectual biography" of a historian whose effect upon his contemporaries was great.

While the structure of this study is chronological within each period of time that the author blocks out as possessing a kind of unity, he happily combines a generally brief account of Becker's life with an extended, critical assessment of the changing dimensions of Becker's thinking as it revealed itself in the writing of his period. Thus the reader can readily follow the evolution of Becker's life of the spirit from the early chapters dealing with his youth, family, and college, through the formative years when the training, the insights, and the heresies of Turner, Haskins, Burgess, and Robinson helped mold him, to the final chapters which take up the mature Becker in the years of his own renown when he was already something of a legendary figure. Based upon a detailed study of Becker's published writings (and most of the literature about those writings) and a careful scrutiny of the Becker papers at Cornell, this book is thorough and systematic in

investigation, thoughtfully searching in its assessments, and in the main, lucid and felicitous in expression.

Wilkins' admiration and liking for Becker is manifest throughout. He was one of the most accomplished writers of his day. In intellectual history he was very nearly at the top. He was a rationalist deeply aware of the tantalizing vagaries of man's emotional and instinctual life. Possessing many of the better qualities of Socrates and Montaigne, he strove resolutely to keep history from being dehumanized. So maintains Wilkins.

Liking, however, does not blunt the sharp edges of the author's critical judgment. A major thinker, Becker was not. He was an exciting but poor epistemologist. If he remains a significant figure for students of American culture, his significance lies less in the conclusions that he drew than in the journey that he took. Predisposed in that direction, he became tintured through and through with the presentism of Turner and Robinson which he advanced—alas, in the author's opinion—in his pragmatism and relativism to the highest limits of intellectual sophistication. Not only does Wilkins think that Becker was mistaken in that relativist aberration, but he believes, correctly one must agree, that Becker himself at least in part also belatedly reached the conclusion that he had made too much of linking the observer with the observed, that he had been wrong in postulating his famous correspondence between the historian and the reader, by which, if the statement was useful and necessary, then it was true. Nonetheless, he made an important contribution through his own probing to the contemporary search for values and standards. He was "both a weathervane and a counteravailing force," bringing to consciousness in a highly intellectualized form the shocks which were troubling all the dejected, bewildered, and thwarted democratic liberals of his day.

With the broad lines of Wilkins' evaluation one can be in substantial agreement. It is regrettable that the author did not point out how deeply, sometimes almost provincially, American Becker was, not only in his philosophy but also in his attitudes and his responses to European thought and culture and to Europeans as well. The chapters relating to Becker's guides at Wisconsin and Columbia, like those dealing with his deep involvement in World War I and his final return to the faith of the founding fathers, are masterly. The sections on the weary liberal of the 1920's and 1930's which take up the famous essays on historical facts and the provoking and controversial *Heavenly City* read less easily, probably because the author moves away too much from Becker himself into the more arid terrain of philosophical disputation. Moreover, he is not altogether convincing in his sharp contrast between Becker's years of negativism and dejection and the recovery of his never wholly lost faith at the time of World War II. Becker had already regained his balance by the time he wrote *Progress and Power* in 1935 (published the year after). The approaching showdown of 1939 and America's entry into the war accelerated a development already well under way.



These observations, however, cover minor points of disagreement. All readers will be in Wilkins' debt for his informative, sympathetic, and balanced pioneering work.

*New York University*

LEO GERSHOY

HENRY A. WALLACE: QUIXOTIC CRUSADE 1948. By *Karl M. Schmidt*. [Men and Movements Series.] (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 362. \$5.50.)

UNTIL the complete records of Henry Wallace's Progressive party and the personal papers of Wallace and other leaders are made available to the historian (if indeed they ever will be), this account will serve as a reliable and lively narrative of the "quixotic crusade" of 1948. Based on limited party materials, on extensive interviews, and on a wide reading of newspaper and magazine reports, the study lacks only those vital scraps of "inside" material which are crucial to the writing of a fully valid analysis.

Professor Schmidt sees the movement as a far more orthodox and traditional third-party venture than have many other contemporary critics. The growing influence of the hard core of Communists (or their close sympathizers) came more by default than design, he concludes, because the expected sources of broad popular support failed to materialize and union labor remained loyal to the Fair Deal; farm groups were moved by price expediency; Negroes generally were attracted to Truman by the Democratic civil rights plank and repelled back into the Democratic party by the Dixiecrat coalition; youth and women's groups were vocal and enthusiastic, but did not, in the final analysis, carry much weight. Furthermore, the climate of postwar reaction made it difficult for a radically dissenting movement to get a fair hearing; while the Czechoslovakian coup of March 1948 and the Berlin blockade tended to cast doubt on the viability of Wallace's foreign policy positions. The party polled so few votes that it could not possibly survive. Schmidt concludes that only in New York, Michigan, and Maryland did the Progressives pull enough votes away from Truman to throw their electoral votes into the Republican column, and that Progressive "ballots were insufficient to defeat a single Democratic candidate where they offered opposition, just as they failed, where they supported a liberal Democrat, to furnish him with his margin of victory or to prevent his defeat."

There is an old axiom that advises against setting a Mormon to writing Mormon history. Schmidt writes as one who was himself a participant (in a modest role) in the crusade, but he demonstrates much critical insight, and his sympathy, for the most part, becomes an asset more than a liability. There are omissions, of course—the failure to trace in detail the background of the struggle within Min-

nesota's DFL party between the regulars and the leftists, for example—but until the full inside story is open this monograph will prove indispensable.

*University of Minnesota*

CLARKE A. CHAMBERS

YESTERDAY IN MEXICO: A CHRONICLE OF THE REVOLUTION, 1919-1936. By *John W. F. Dulles*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1961. Pp. xvi, 805. \$8.50.)

THIS is an unusual and significant work. The author is not a professional historian, but rather a mining engineer and business executive with a special background and a family heritage closely related to Mexico in various ways. His name correctly suggests that he is one of the sons of the late John Foster Dulles, himself named for a famous grandfather whose memoirs as United States ambassador still remain a standard source for the period 1873 to 1880 in Mexico. We are told by the publisher that our author was educated at Princeton, Harvard, and the University of Arizona, and that he resigned as vice-president of a Mexican mining concern to represent yet another in Brazil. He tells us himself that in 1959 he had concluded sixteen years in Mexico, during which time his interest was increasingly drawn to its complicated past, and more especially to a critical span of the great Mexican Revolution. He has endeavored to write a chronicle, an almost day-by-day account of his chosen period, 1919-1936.

Dulles' methods are also worthy of note. With businesslike efficiency, he has compiled an enormous bibliography, one of the largest extant on published materials of and about the era. He has, moreover, digested much of it, as his replete documentation suggests. But harking back to the days of H. H. Bancroft, he has also painstakingly gathered a large body of personal memoir and reminiscence material from survivors of various episodes who answered his questions about disputed details and their own roles. He acknowledges indebtedness to over sixty such individuals who provided him with this sort of data; apparently he further submitted his preliminary drafts to at least ten other Mexican historians or major participants for their opinions on factual accuracy. Each of his seventy-five chapters has bibliographical notes of its own. Hence reading the book the way a historian is likely to, from bibliography forward through footnotes to beginning of the text, we are prepared for a mass of new and detailed data, which appear in due course.

Dulles chronicles the rise and fall of the three major leaders from Sonora who dominated Mexican politics after they had eliminated Carranza in 1919. This is the fascinating story of Alvaro Obregón, Adolfo de la Huerta, and Plutarco Elías Calles, the tale of prolongation of factional strife of the battlefields into the political arena after the Constitution of 1917. As detail after detail piles up, one can see the political mechanisms by which Mexico was (and is) controlled taking shape, shaken slightly by Huerta's defection, critically tested by the assassination of

Obregón in 1928, and then captured and changed by Lazaro Cárdenas, who put an end to an era by exiling the survivor, Calles, in 1936.

In the course of eight hundred pages, the author provides much revision as he re-creates the detailed record of the times. Almost forgotten intrigues, successes, failures, enemies, supporters of the Sonoran triangle reappear and again fade as the narrative moves on. Indeed the term "chronicle" is well chosen to describe the contents. This is dynastic history, of the Sonoran dynasty, in the grand manner. It calls to my mind the stately tones of Merriman's treatment of the Spanish Empire.

This is a massive achievement. Its defects are inherent in its approach and material. The author does not always use his superb data from memoirs as critically as one would like, sometimes accepting assertions made long after the fact at their face value. He has purposely sacrificed scope for depth, confining his treatment to the narrowly political lines now almost anachronistic in United States historiography, but still cherished in Latin America. Indeed, this concentration on politics in such almost oppressive detail may well be an overdue antidote to the more common superficial interpretive syntheses of the Mexican Revolution, often based on subjectivism and intuition rather than fact.

There is no doubt that Dulles' book is a substantial and lasting contribution. It is purposely circumscribed in time and in topic. Within its self-imposed limits it is nearly comprehensive. Quite properly Dulles leaves it to others to provide parallel treatments of the economic, intellectual, social, and various other strands he omits. This is a very useful monographic volume for which the historical guild is grateful.

*Library of Congress*

HOWARD F. CLINE

\* \* \* *Other Recent Publications* \* \* \*

BOOKS

General

HISTOIRE UNIVERSELLE: TABLEAU GÉNÉRAL DE L'HUMANITÉ. Volumes I and II. Published under the direction of *Marcel Dunan*. (Paris: Librairie Larousse. 1960. Pp. 400; 417.) This encyclopedia is a superbly illustrated, fine outline of human history. Volume I covers world history to about 1600, Volume II, modern times. The text, by excellent professional historians, is thoughtful, accurate, and amazingly inclusive. Though the encyclopedic treatment does not lend itself to continuity, the lucid, almost breathless style makes a reader want to read on. This encyclopedia should be in every library. There is no comparable historical work in English; one might hope that an American publisher would be as daring and imaginative as Larousse.  
*Washington, D. C.* BCS

HISTOIRE DU MONDE. Volume II, LE FEU DE DIEU. By *Jean Duché*. (Paris: Flammarion, Éditeur. 1960. Pp. 778.) This is the second of four volumes planned to cover the history of the world. Its author is a French journalist who shows more than mere adequate competence in handling historical materials and who has thorough familiarity with sound works of scholarship. American readers may already be familiar with his capacity for mordant wit and revealing phrase if they are acquainted with his popular and amusing, as well as informative, *History of France as Told to Juliette*. As a writer he always holds his reader's attention and handles with skill narrative that could become tedious if presented by a less talented author. One admires and respects the temerity of anyone who sets out to write global history. To be captious and over-critical of a work of this sort would show lack of judgment and little understanding of human frailty. Duché's subtitle and the captions of his sections and chapters appeal more to the emotions than those found in more prosaic presentations. The book is divided into two parts: "Au Nom d'Allah" and "Au Nom du Christ." In twenty-seven chapters, grouped in six books, the history of Western Europe, the Byzantine Empire, Central Asia, China, Japan, and even of pre-Columbian America from about the fifth to the sixteenth centuries A.D. is covered. This demanding challenge has here been met with considerable success. The author makes no pretensions of adding to scholarship, but he has told a complex story in meaningful fashion. There is no indication that a full bibliography is to be provided in a subsequent volume, and, save for an occasional note, direct reference to sources of information is not given. Throughout the narrative, but not in any systematic fashion, direct reference to other writers is made by insertion of an author's name in parentheses. One wonders how helpful it is for the average reader, unfamiliar with historical literature, to encounter in the text the names of Lot, Bloch, Halphen, Dawson, Grousset, Cohen, and others without definite reference to their specific writings. With few exceptions, Duché seems to have relied

almost exclusively on French works. It must be stated, however, that the writers he names are all scholars of recognized distinction. Although sections devoted to the history of China, Japan, and India are often vivid presentations and analyses of social, religious, and intellectual movements, on occasion the non-European chapters seem to be cluttered with an abundance of unfamiliar names. They lack the balance and symmetry of those describing the more familiar European scene. Twenty-four excellent maps provide the help essential for an understanding of the text. Without these aids much of what is given for Asiatic lands would for most be incomprehensible. It was wise also to include chronological tables at the end of each book. In the absence of an index these are especially helpful. Even if it does not present striking novelty in content or organization, this is a highly readable and at times entertaining book. It is good narrative history, written with a sensitive feeling for epigram and picturesque phrase. Happily, also, it is not devoid of humor.

*Northwestern University*

GRAY C. BOYCE

THE CONSERVATIVE ILLUSION. By *M. Morton Auerbach*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 359. \$6.75.) Conservatism seeks "harmony and tranquillity, the inner peace which is destroyed by tension." These goals require "the minimizing of individual desires and the maximizing of affection through a 'community,' integrated by traditions and institutions handed down from the past." Plato was "the greatest of Conservative ideologists." Hence, Auerbach begins with an examination of his ideas and then explores other historical forms of pre-Burkean conservatism. These include the Stoics, St. Augustine, and John of Salisbury. Medieval society produced the only conservative period in Western civilization. The ensuing liberal society forced conservatism to make its first major readjustment, and it was Edmund Burke, "the father of modern Conservatism," who made the "classic reformulation." Burke was a liberal conservative. As such, he is a prime example of "the contradictions of liberal Conservatism." He attempted to defend existing traditions while calling for measures of improvement—gradual changes where clearly indicated. The French Revolution forced him to choose between liberalism and conservatism. Since his values had always been conservative, he elected conservatism. Auerbach claims that it is not true that Burke was the first to grasp the true nature of modern political parties, that it is an error to think that he adumbrated the idea of modern responsible parliamentary government, and that his ideology was based on a number of fallacious premises. Conservatism failed to adjust to liberal society. The failure was patent in its contradictions which were merely broadened by the nineteenth century's adaptation to industrial society. The United States is the "world-historical" nation of the industrial age, and the American ideal has never been conservative. During the past decade, however, the United States has shown apparent interest in conservatism, and liberals, frightened by growing political authority, have fallen into the dangerous trap of employing conservative arguments to resist changes in American society. This is especially disconcerting, since conservatism's inconsistencies are currently more pronounced than ever and its ideology totally divorced from reality. America's New Conservatives, both reactionary and "adjusted," employ a "motley collection of mutually contradictory and internally inconsistent fragments." The book's title embraces its conclusion. Conservatism is an illusion which never could and never will be able to make its ideals conform to reality. The industry that has produced this provocative evaluation of conservatism in general and the New Conservatism in particular is impressive. Many will be annoyed at the liberal use of such words as "objectified," "valuative," "politicization," and so forth, but the book is very well written. Others will find the pervading air of cockiness offensive. Auerbach offers and asks no quarter as he lays about him on the conservatives of the past,

especially Burke, and the present, such as Agar, Kirk, Niebuhr, Viereck, and Drucker. There can be no mistaking the challenge raised here.

*Beckenham, Kent, England*

THOMAS H. D. MAHONEY

HENRY VIII AND LUTHER: AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR PERSONAL RELATIONS. By *Erwin Doernberg*. With a foreword by *Gordon Rupp*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 139. \$3.50.) This brief essay contributes rather little to our knowledge, but by focusing on the personal dealings of Henry VIII and Luther it offers some interesting and useful side lights on a familiar story. The story begins with Henry's attack on Luther's *Babylonian Captivity* in his *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* (1521) and Luther's vigorous reply (1522). It continues through Luther's curious offer of apology, stimulated by a false rumor that Henry had embraced the Gospel (1525), and the King's abusive response. And it closes with Henry's continued and unsuccessful attempts to gain Luther's approval of his divorce (1531-1540). As the author warns the reader in his preface, Luther, who was shocked by the execution of More and Fisher and by the divorce, comes out of the story rather well, Henry, very badly. The sources are used with discrimination and judgment, but it is not clear why the Weimar edition of Luther's works was not used. There are two especially illuminating digressions on abuse in sixteenth-century controversy and on the Pope's (and Luther's) honest preference for bigamy over divorce. The naïveté of the King's attempt to get Luther's approval of his divorce after all he had said and written about him is no less impressive than a certain rugged honesty in Luther when confronted by Henry's unfairness to Catherine ("I like best the decision given by the university of Louvain"). Luther's final judgment after Catherine's death (1536) was that the Pope "has tossed about the King in such a fashion that I feel almost inclined to excuse the King personally; and yet I cannot consent to his cause. . . ."

*Princeton University*

E. HARRIS HARBISON

THE OTHER ARMADA: THE FRANCO-SPANISH ATTEMPT TO INVADE BRITAIN IN 1779. By *A. Temple Patterson*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1960. Pp. ix, 247. \$6.00.) This comprehensive, objective, and detailed study of the abortive Franco-Spanish attempt to invade Great Britain in 1779 is the first to be written from both the British and French viewpoints. It is based primarily upon documents in British and French, but not Spanish, military and diplomatic archives, but also refers to published correspondence and standard military histories. Few memoirs are cited. Temple, a Reader in Regional History at the University of Southampton, prefaces his work with a history of French plans to invade England since the sixteenth century, an account of the revival of the French armed forces after the Seven Years' War, and a description of the British forces and defenses in 1779, including detailed plans of the Portsmouth and Plymouth areas. He attributes Vergennes' reluctant consent to the invasion, despite his concern for maintaining the balance of power, to his conviction after the indecisive Battle of Ushant in July 1778 that France must have naval assistance from Spain. From a successful invasion of England, Spain hoped to force the cession of Gibraltar and Minorca. Temple believes that the invasion might have come off, given the inferiority in numbers and tactics and cautious spirit of the British fleet under Admiral Hardy, the faulty condition of the British defenses, and the factionalism in the British command. Under the circumstances, however, he feels that Hardy was right to withdraw to a position closer to his reinforcements. He attributes the invaders' failure less to the lack of daring on the part of Admiral D'Orvilliers than to the slowness, ineptitude, and failure to cooperate of the Spanish fleet; the curious unfamiliarity with the Channel of the French crews; inadequate supplies; sickness; storms; and divisions among

the French command. The war was to be won, as Vergennes had foreseen, in colonial waters, and the decision to send an expeditionary force to America under Rochambeau was soon taken. The huge cost of the invasion attempt contributed to the later bankruptcy of the French state, and from its plans Napoleon derived some of his ideas for an invasion of Britain.

*State University College, New Paltz, New York*

EVELYN M. ACOMB

THE MILITARY LEGACY OF THE CIVIL WAR: THE EUROPEAN INHERITANCE. By *Jay Luvaas*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 252. \$5.95.) At a time when the spate of studies on the Civil War leads to a national magnification of that conflict, it is interesting (and salutary) to look at the armies of the North and South through European eyes. Luvaas, after a thorough examination of British, French, and German military literature between 1861 and 1914, has concluded that: "Contrary to popular belief, there never was a time when the Civil War exerted a direct influence upon military doctrine in Europe." The American reader, with the names of Henderson, J. F. C. Fuller, and Liddell Hart springing to mind, may find this a rather puzzling conclusion. Luvaas has anticipated this reaction, however, and in a thoughtful chapter entitled "The Henderson Legacy" shows how Henderson and his followers stimulated the study of the Civil War in England, but failed to produce any discernible impact on British official military thought. Then, in an epilogue to his main work, the author examines the contributions made to Civil War literature after World War I by such eminent military thinkers as Fuller and Liddell Hart, but finds that their work led to historical re-evaluation rather than to military applications in European armies. Luvaas' diligence in exhuming and analyzing British military writings is equaled in his study of the more variegated sources in France and Germany. Indeed, his discursive notes could serve as a useful general guide to the study of European military theory between 1866 and 1914. Why did a war of such magnitude and wealth of innovation leave so small an imprint on European armies? The immediate answer is given in copious citations from those Europeans who viewed the war at close hand: what they saw were armies, terrain, and tactics which simply did not coincide with European military conventions and therefore could and would be dismissed as anomalies. But the author goes further in his analysis. The constellation of wars that established the supremacy of German arms followed so closely on the heels of the Civil War that "many of the lessons taught in America were outdated before they could be digested," and even to interested observers "the Civil War appeared to be but one step in a general trend in warfare." What might European soldiers have learned from the Civil War, or at the least have used to verify or correct the lessons drawn from the wars of 1866 and 1870-1871, in South Africa and Manchuria? Luvaas believes that the Civil War should have taught the military organizers and theorists in European armies something about the value of hasty field fortifications defended by rifle fire, the tactical flexibility and usefulness of cavalry fighting dismounted with the new breech-loading weapons, the folly of massed tactical formations designed for shock action, and the vulnerability of permanent-type fortifications. These are the major yardsticks by which the author measures the acceptance or, better, the rejection of the lessons learned in four hard and bloody years. The jaded Civil War "buff" should read this book.

*Washington, D. C.*

HUGH M. COLE

INDIA AND ANGLO-SOVIET RELATIONS (1917-1947). By *Chattar Singh Samra*. (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1959. Pp. xi, 186. \$4.50.) As its title suggests, the book by Dr. Samra is concerned with the role played by India, especially by British interests in India, vis-à-



vis Anglo-Russian relations. While emphasis is placed on the decades since the Bolshevik Revolution, the initial chapter provides a useful summary of the topic for the earlier period. In a secondary fashion, attention is also paid to the characteristic effects of the Bolshevik Revolution and the rise of Soviet power on the thinking of many Indian nationalists. The book makes quite clear the extent to which Britain's imperial interest in India helped to shape its fears of Russian expansionism. In fact, one could argue that the author has accepted with too few qualms the official British opinion that Russia was a direct menace to the Indian Empire. In retrospect it seems but fair to suggest that officials in Simla often found it convenient to dwell upon the Russian menace so as to justify their own policies for the defense of India, especially in the nineteenth-century instances of intervention in Afghanistan. Samra's research has uncovered in a striking fashion the history of Russian interests in the Pashtu-speaking tribesmen of the northwest frontier. This is of particular interest today because of the Afghan agitation for an independent Pakhtoonistan and suggests that there might be more to the Afghan position than meets the eye. Equally striking is his chapter on Anglo-Soviet relations as affected by India during the Second World War. He has effectively used captured German war documents to demonstrate the extent to which and the ways in which Nazi war plans involved the Indo-Afghan frontier. His materials on the Soviets and India are interesting and informative but hardly definitive. Inability to get into the Soviet archives has, of course, limited his exposition but so has his failure to exploit fully the memoirs of living Indians who went to the Soviet Union shortly after the Bolshevik Revolution to be prepared for revolutionary activities in their homeland. The least satisfactory aspect of the volume is the author's attempt to explain the effect of the Soviet Union on the thinking of Indian nationalists. The views he propounds are doubtless correct, in so far as that goes, but they do not go far enough. This is, perhaps, but another way of saying that the image of Soviet Russia which grew up among Indian nationalists requires a more comprehensive and thoroughgoing analysis than it has received in the present volume. Samra's book is nevertheless a valuable addition to the published materials on the topic.

*Duke University*

ROBERT I. CRANE

ROOSEVELT THROUGH FOREIGN EYES. By *Nicholas Halasz*. (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1961. Pp. vi, 340. \$6.00.) One of the neglected aspects of the New Deal has been the significant impact of both its domestic program and foreign policy upon other nations. Nicholas Halasz' *Roosevelt through Foreign Eyes* makes a beginning toward filling this gap. While it does not directly analyze the effects of the Roosevelt programs upon other countries, it does present an interesting compilation of what foreigners were saying about Roosevelt and his policies from 1933 through 1945. The arrangement is roughly chronological, and the treatment is journalistic. For the most part the book reads like the *Literary Digest* of the thirties or the summaries of foreign opinion in the *New York Times*. The scope is wide: editorial bits, comments by government leaders or spokesmen, and quotations from reporters. The sources are predominantly British and French journals, newspapers, and books, but the selections range from the *Japanese Chronicle* and *Australian Quarterly* through the *Stockholm Dagens Nyheter* to the *Yale Review*. They include the remarks of Mussolini, Franco, De Gaulle, Churchill, Keynes, Laski, H. G. Wells, Goebbels, and a host of others, famous, infamous, or obscure. Unfortunately this book, which far more than most others needs an index, is without one, so that the reader interested in a specific person or topic will be forced to thumb through the pages. He will have almost as much difficulty in seeking verification or amplification of quotations from books, since only authors and titles, but not page numbers, are cited. Thus this tantalizing bit:

"The day when the U. S. Senate voted in January, 1937, the embargo on arms to Spain—81 to 0 with 12 abstentions—General Franco exclaimed: 'President Roosevelt behaved like a real gentleman.'" The source: Robert Waithman, *Report on America*. To make valid generalizations on the basis of this conglomeration is not easy since it includes all sorts of comments, both those that are vivid and incisive and the banal and downright incorrect. Yet the historian in one respect can be glad that Halasz has served him such an indiscriminate mixed grill, since this is probably a fairly good random sample of the information and misinformation being spread before the rest of the world. Also, it indicates a keen and continued interest and comparatively accurate appraisal of the New Deal among the serious writers of England, France, and Switzerland, and a relatively friendly or detached attitude on the part of the Germans until late in the thirties. As for Roosevelt himself, from the beginning of his first administration he was regarded as a great man, and by 1945 was revered throughout the United Nations as an almost superhuman titan. To a degree few of his countrymen comprehended, he had come to symbolize throughout the world the righteous might of the United States.

Harvard University

FRANK FREIDEL

DOCUMENTS ON POLISH-SOVIET RELATIONS, 1939-1945. Volume I, 1939-1943. [General Sikorski Historical Institute.] (London: Heinemann. 1961. Pp. xl, 625. 63s.) The General Sikorski Historical Institute in London is to be congratulated on a splendid selection of documents on Soviet-Polish relations. Many of the documents included can be found in other collections; however, many are published here for the first time. Arranged chronologically, these 321 documents deal with the restoration of diplomatic relations between Poland and the USSR in 1941, the problem of organization of the Polish army in the USSR, the controversies over Polish citizenship, and the enigma of the missing war prisoners. Eight appendixes and fifty pages of footnotes at the end round out the collection. It is my hope that in subsequent volumes the institute will maintain the high standards set in the first one.

Portland State College

BASIL DMYTRYSHYN

## Ancient and Medieval

THE ATHENIAN YEAR. By Benjamin D. Meritt. [Sather Classical Lectures, Volume XXXII.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1961. Pp. vi, 262. \$6.00.) Meritt himself built the foundation upon which modern study of the Athenian calendar rests, with *The Athenian Calendar in the Fifth Century* (1928). Since that time, the most important contributions have been made by Dinsmoor, Meritt, Pritchett (sometimes in collaboration with Meritt), and Neugebauer (in collaboration with Pritchett). These scholars, working in a field of extraordinary complexity, have not only made notable gains; they have also identified formidable problems that continue to defy recognized solution. In 1947 Pritchett and Neugebauer (*The Calendars of Athens*) conducted a searching examination of current doctrine. They solved the problems of the lunar (god's) or festal calendar and the archon's calendar; and, in eyeing Julian equations with suspicion and insisting upon rigid adherence to Aristotle's statement about the lengths of prytanies in the conciliar year, they probably encouraged Meritt to devote his Sather Lectures to a further study of Athenian methods of keeping time. This book for specialists recovers still more of the truth. The following propositions, previously *sub iudice*, I regard as now securely established: the Athenians, by a rule of convenience (rather than observation of the crescent), maintained, with occasional cor-

rection, alternating months of twenty-nine and thirty days, the lengths being known in advance (consecutive hollow months were avoided); in the last decade of the month, with backward count ("as the month waned"), the tenth (not the second) was omitted in a hollow month to the end of the fourth century, later, with backward or forward count ("after the twentieth"), no ninth day was noted in a hollow month; Aristotle's "rule" must be interpreted generally and not rigidly, and the accounts of the *logistai* (*I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 324) do not reflect a rigid conciliar calendar. By fresh study of the epigraphic evidence, period by period, Meritt shows that the texts may be reconstructed to form a pattern. Here there is much that is uncertain, as Meritt admits, and other restorations are not impossible. Since many problems await new evidence, Meritt insists upon flexibility and an open mind. The abbreviations serve as a working bibliography. The few illustrations are excellent; the indexes are, as usual, impeccable. Two errors may mislead: on page 4 (second line from the bottom) *for year read month*; on page 217 *for July 19 read June 19*. In this field, as is so often the case, progress comes from controversy. The informed reader of *The Athenian Year*, in saluting another performance of admirable quality, will surely join with its author in acknowledging the debt we owe to the painstaking and conscientious work of W. K. Pritchett.

University of British Columbia

MALCOLM F. MCGREGOR

ANCIENT GREEK HORSEMANSHIP. By J. K. Anderson. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1961. Pp. xv, 329. \$8.75.) Anyone who reads this book should first thoroughly familiarize himself with Xenophon's treatise "On Equitation." The reader can do this easily enough by reading first the fresh translation of Xenophon's work which Anderson has appended to his book. This procedure will make the reading of the main body of *Ancient Greek Horsemanship* a more profitable experience since Xenophon's essay is undoubtedly the principal ancient literary source. Anderson does not, however, limit himself to Xenophon, but also avails himself of all the available prehistoric, Near Eastern, and Greek archaeological and literary sources as well as his own experience both as a classicist and an expert horseman. Constantly, relevant comparisons are made with prehistoric, Near Eastern, Roman, medieval, and modern knowledge about equitation. The historian will find this admirable book, as specialized as it may seem at first glance, relevant to the study of the historical development of ancient Greek culture. It is the first effort to enclose within one book archaeological and literary evidence on the part played by the horse in Greek war tactics, travel, sports, and the major festivals. The volume is an orderly and actually quite fascinating discussion of such topics as horses in prehistoric Greece, the various breeds of horses, halters and bits, the historical development of the bit, saddlecloths, stable management, schooling and ordinary equitation, and the economics of horsekeeping. The text is fully supported and generously illustrated by thirty-five pages of notes, an eleven-page bibliography, and thirty-nine halftone plates. Much of Anderson's work is corrective in nature. Thus he has striven to correct some little-understood or even wholly misinterpreted aspects of Greek horsemanship by previous, less experienced scholars who have tried to read modern terms and practices into the ancient world uncritically. Among other observations, Anderson makes the following points: in prehistoric Greece, cavalry was unimportant; the chariot dominated the battlefield, and driving was far more important than riding until the seventh century B.C.; the Greek horse of the fifth century B.C. was a small animal, seldom reaching fifteen hands, with a fine head and legs, high head carriage, and rather heavy body; random mating was common; the Greeks generally rode bareback until the fourth century B.C.; they did not use stirrups and had no definite riding dress; they did use spurs and whips; they neither shod nor trimmed their horses' hooves; and horsewomen were practically unknown. Such facts as these are

placed within their proper historical framework. In the best scholarly tradition, this book accomplishes with precision and accuracy what it sets out to do.

*Colgate University*

JOHN E. REXINE

THE CULT AND MYTH OF PYRROS AT DELPHI. By *Joseph Fontenrose*. [University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology, Volume IV, Number 3.] (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960. Pp. iv, 191-266. \$2.50.) This monograph is a continuation of the author's *Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and Its Origins* (1959) and also a prologue to a study of the Hero cults of Delphi. Its purpose is to show: that Pyrrhus (= Neoptolemus), who appears in the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* as the son of Achilles, was in fact the divine predecessor of Apollo at Delphi; that his cult was established there in Mycenaean times; that early in the Greek historical period, probably at the time when the amphictyons first took over the protection of the sanctuary, the Delphic Pyrrhus was syncretized with the Thessalian Achilles-Neoptolemus; and that Pyrrhus was worshipped continuously at Delphi from prehistoric times until the end of paganism. The work consists primarily of an erudite examination of relevant Greek legends and folklore. Despite the intractable nature of this material, Fontenrose has made a strong case for his first two points, and his third is certainly tenable. The complete silence of both inscriptions and historians, especially Herodotus, in regard to the Delphic Pyrrhus (I prefer Vergil's spelling), along with the statement of Pausanias that prior to 278 B.C. the Delphians held Pyrrhus in dishonor, tells heavily against his fourth.

*University of Vermont*

JOHN H. KENT

TROY: THE COINS. Supplementary Monograph Number 2. By *Alfred R. Bellinger*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press for the University of Cincinnati, 1961. Pp. xiii, 220, 27 plates. \$17.50.) This second of four supplementary volumes planned to complete the technical and critical studies of the material found during the excavations at Troy is devoted to the coins discovered. The number was not large, some 575 pieces and a hoard of 218 Antoniani, but in process of listing them, it became apparent that an important proportion came from the mints of Ilium and Alexandria Troas. For their proper understanding and dating, it was necessary to study the wider range of material in other museums and collections. In doing this, the author has brought together all the available information on these two mints. After a short historical summary, he discusses in detail first the larger group from Ilium, dating from 301 B.C. to the close of the mint by Gallienus and then that of Alexandria Troas beginning in 310 and closing at the same time as Ilium. A separate catalogue lists all the coins from Troy dating from Philip II of Macedon to the thirteenth-century crusader coins. The concluding chapter on the currency of the Troad shows the importance of the mints in the northwestern part of Anatolia and the part they played in supplying local silver and bronze coinage in Hellenistic and Roman times. These two mints appear to have produced the bulk of the bronze money in use from the third century B.C. on, and their issues were to some extent complementary. The rise and fall of production provide valuable aids to the economic history of the period. The hoard of Antoniani covers perhaps not more than half a dozen years from Aurelian to Probus and supplies useful supplementary evidence to the picture yielded by chance finds of coins in the third century. This study of the coinage of the Troad has filled many gaps in knowledge and furnishes a consistent picture of the position of these two mints.

*Institute of Archaeology, University of London*

JOAN DU PLAT TAYLOR

THE HISTORY OF THE CAUCASIAN ALBANIANS. By *Movsēs Dasxurançi*. Translated by C. J. F. Dowsett. [School of Oriental and African Studies, University of

London. London Oriental Series, Volume VIII.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xx, 252. \$7.20.) The Caucasian Albanians formed the Christian triumvirate with the Armenians and Georgians and left their stamp on ancient and medieval Caucasian history. While Armenians and Georgians are relatively well known, these Albanians are quite unknown, almost lost to history. A people of uncertain ethnic origin, they lived in the country that is today's Soviet republic of Azerbaijan from pre-Christian times until the eleventh century A.D. They evolved their own writing and their rich literature, all of which are irretrievably lost, and this *History* by an eleventh-century Armenian cleric known as Movsēs Kaghankatuatzi contains the only extant connected narrative we have about them. It was available in several Armenian editions and in one Russian translation for a long time, but Western scholars not versed in these languages were denied its use. This translation from the Armenian text by the lecturer in Armenian at the School of Oriental and African Studies is a commendable achievement. In addition to offering an able and readable translation of a difficult work, Dowsett's informative "introduction" and his copious footnotes are valuable guides for further study of the intriguing subject.

*Library of Congress*

A. O. SARKISSIAN

LITUS SAXONICUM: THE BRITISH SAXON SHORE IN SCHOLARSHIP AND HISTORY. By *Donald A. White*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin. 1961. Pp. 122. \$3.50.) This is an interesting, well-done short study of a very specific problem, the meaning of the term "Saxon shore," applied to a string of Roman coastal forts in southeastern Britain, for the transition from Roman to Anglo-Saxon occupation. The interest is in the method and the conclusions. The evidence is ambiguous and tenuous, drawn chiefly from histories and panegyrics, fortifications, coins, and place names and focused upon the Roman *Notitia Dignitatum* of about A.D. 400, in which the term is used for forts of both the British and Gallic coasts. White has a ready command of these materials and of the various interpretations that have been urged from the sixteenth century to the present. He gives a neat demonstration of the use of historical inference in building a tentative case upon a succession of attractive possibilities. Instead of accepting the usual view that the coasts were named for Saxon attackers, he concludes that the forts were erected in the late third century by rebelling military commanders for defense against imperial reconquest and were not called *litus Saxonicum* until the Theodosian reorganization of the shore against Germanic attacks in the late fourth century and then were so called because of the settlement of Saxons as mercenaries here as well as in Gaul. His case thus is linked with and adds to the already persuasive evidence of the theory of the gradual infiltration of Anglo-Saxons before the traditional conquest.

*Reed College*

R. F. ARRAGON

HISPANIA—IDEE UND GOTENMYTHOS: ZU DEN VORAUSSETZUNGEN DES TRADITIONELLEN VATERLÄNDISCHEN GESCHICHTSBILDES IM SPANISCHEN MITTELALTER. By *Hans Messmer*. [Geist und Werk der Zeiten, Number 5.] (Zürich: Fretz & Wasmuth Verlag. 1960. Pp. 141. 9.50 fr. S.) Not too aptly entitled, somewhat awkwardly organized both in matter and form (the introduction comprises almost half the book), and starting more hares than it undertakes to bag, this is nevertheless a valuable, largely original treatment of certain central themes of the Romanist-Germanist controversy and the question of Spain's place in Europe. Messmer establishes two chief points in his long introductory essay. First, the historians of the late Roman Empire founded a long-lived tradition of the Visigoths as the principal agents of the Roman catastrophe, as incurably barbaric wreckers of civilization. Secondly,



during the Renaissance, Italian humanists, contemptuous of the "Gothic" Middle Ages, revived this thesis, but were vigorously assailed by their German counterparts, who hailed (and studied) the Goths as the renewers of a hopelessly decadent culture and the gifted founders of the new Europe. Against this background of debate (which of course still continues although without the inspired bloodlettings of nineteenth-century historiography), the rest of the book proves how profoundly in the early Middle Ages the whole subject was affected by Merovingian and Hispano-Visigothic historical writing. Examination of the Merovingian chronicles, above all the *Historia Francorum* of Gregory of Tours, reveals that political and religious hostility toward the Visigoths fixed Spain in Frankish, and consequently Western, minds as a land of barbarism, cruelty, and heresy (first Arian, later Moslem). Gregory himself appears here with some justice as the true father of the anti-Spanish *leyenda negra*. On the other hand, as the final chapter makes clear, below the Pyrenees a countermyth was created in which the Visigoths rank as heroic champions of courage, liberty, sound government, and (after 589) religious orthodoxy. The leading artist here was Isidore of Seville; minute analysis of his short, unduly neglected *Historia Gothorum* confirms its aim as unabashedly apologetic: the glorification of the Visigothic past, the kings, the conquest of the Roman world, and even—on political grounds—Leovigild's execution of his rebel son Hermenegild (whom Gregory pictures as a Catholic martyr). The conclusion reached, that Isidore's depiction of the Visigoths as liberators of a Roman-oppressed Hispania and architects of peninsular unification is the main source of later Spanish national ideology, must, however, be received with caution, since Messmer fails to investigate the survival of non-Isidorian Gothic political ideas in the chronicles of the early Reconquest and likewise ignores Maravall, Sánchez-Albornoz, and the literature on medieval Hispanic imperialism. Messmer disclaims the intention of pursuing his inquiry further, but surely between Gregory and Isidore, on the one hand, and the Renaissance humanists, on the other, there is much poorly explored terrain of medieval Franco-Hispanic ideological conflict that would profit from his skillful dissection.

University of Virginia

C. J. BISHKO

KING JOHN. By W. L. Warren. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1961. Pp. xi, 340. \$6.50.) "Memorable history" as interpreted by Sellar and Yeatman agreed that King John was a Bad King, although Magna Carta was a Good Thing. Critical historians at the end of the last century began to question both these conclusions, and their questions have led to deeper study of the sources of John's time by a considerable number of scholars. Upon the basis of this scholarship as well as the sources themselves, all of which he knows very thoroughly, Mr. Warren has written this book for the general reader. He writes extraordinarily well, and his life of King John deserves to be widely read both for its sound learning and its felicitous style. Precisely because it will be widely read and hence influential in shaping the general view of John, it is necessary to say that not everyone will be satisfied with Warren's characterization of that enigmatic monarch. His King John is pre-eminently an administrator, an able and energetic ruler who modeled himself upon his famous father, and whose failures were largely owing to bad luck. There were, it is admitted, flaws in his character: he was distrustful, fearful, capricious, nasty, and mean. But Warren plays down his cruelty and denies he was anything but orthodox in his religion, whereas a good case could be made that John was a Renaissance despot two centuries ahead of his time. John was unquestionably energetic, demonically so at times. Was he perhaps essentially weak and easily swayed by first one counselor and then another, a characteristic suggested by various pieces of evidence? There is much more to be said about John's counselors

than appears here, and the view that his alien counselors were "mercenaries" and "henchmen" is too generally accepted. In sum, Warren has not written the last word on the perennially fascinating John. He has written a good book, one which must be taken seriously even when one differs with it. There are few errors, the book is handsomely produced, and a complete translation of Magna Carta with a commentary is appended.

*University of Connecticut*

FRED A. CAZEL, JR.

LA DÉMOGRAPHIE PROVENÇALE DU XIII<sup>e</sup> AU XVI<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE, AVEC CHIFFRES DE COMPARAISON POUR LE XVIII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE. By Édouard Baratier. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI<sup>e</sup> Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Démographie et sociétés, Volume V.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1961. Pp. 255.) Although Édouard Baratier has produced what is principally a statistical account of population in medieval Provence, he is acutely aware that figures, of themselves, amount to little. It is because he has attempted to explain demographic movements in their historical contexts that this work is so much better than many of the arid demographic studies in which one can find only figures and tables. Working with a good collection of fiscal and administrative records conserved in the Archives Départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, Baratier has managed to do a number of things. In the first chapter he has written a good account of taxation in medieval Provence and has then explained the value of the different tax records for estimating population. Such estimation is strewn with pitfalls because interpretation of the records is most difficult. One has, for example, to distinguish between those fiscal records that give a real count of households in a community and those that give a fiscal count, that is, a number of households derived from an evaluation of the estimated yearly wealth of a community. One also has to know that various classes of men were exempt from certain taxes and therefore would not appear on the tax rolls. Allowing for such difficulties and the relative paucity of records, Baratier admits that no figures on population can be more than approximate. Throughout the thirteenth century and into the first decade of the fourteenth he finds a steady rise in population, then a leveling-off period just before the Black Death, next a sharp decline in population that does not stop until the middle of the fifteenth century, and finally from 1470 on, a swift rise in population that continues through the sixteenth century. According to Baratier's figures the Black Death was a major physical catastrophe that had long-term, serious economic and social results. The figures indicate that Provence lost about 50 per cent of its population and that in some regions the mortality rate was as high as two-thirds. Such percentages are much higher than those given by scholars investigating the population losses of England and Northern Europe and indicate how vast yet is the demographic no man's land of medieval Europe. These brief remarks have only suggested the wealth of material found in this book, three-fourths of which consists of tables of figures. Despite its tedious character the book takes the only sort of approach to the study of medieval population that makes sense.

*University of California, Berkeley*

BRYCE LYON

ENGLISH FRIARS AND ANTIQUITY IN THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY. By Beryl Smalley. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1960. Pp. xvi, 398. \$9.00.) Anyone familiar with Miss Smalley's *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* or with the many learned articles that she has contributed to medieval Biblical studies will be grateful to the friars who "ambushed" her and to the librarian of the Warburg Institute who encouraged the writing of this new book. Like the rest of her work it is stimulating and delightful. It has the same quality of sound and meticulous scholarship and



the same lightness of touch. This time she brings to life for us a group of little-known English friar doctors who preached and wrote between 1320 and 1350 and whose keen interest in classical antiquity was expressed in sermons and lectures on the Scriptures. For want of a better term she calls them "the classicising group." Introductory chapters describe the atmosphere of the early fourteenth century and foreunners among the friars, especially John of Wales and Nicholas Trivet. Of the seven friars who make up the core of the book, Thomas Waleys, John Ridevall, and Robert Holcot receive more extensive and sympathetic treatment than their successors at Cambridge or John Lathbury. Careful analysis of their work shows the two tendencies characteristic of the movement as a whole: critical scholarship evident in Waleys' and Ridevall's commentaries on the *De Civitate Dei* and the tendency toward fantasy which reaches its flowering in the "verbal pictures" of Holcot. Concluding chapters which compare the English group with friar commentators and preachers in France and Italy are suggestive rather than complete. They point up differences between the classicizing group in England and the more self-conscious "pre-humanists" and early humanists in Italy and suggest some reasons why the English movement, so promising at the start, failed to develop into humanism. Miss Smalley's book is full of treasures for the classicist, historian, and student of English literature. Appendixes give charming extracts from the writings of the friars and from lost books and forgeries and describe the manuscripts that the author has found in English and continental libraries. These and the extensive bibliographical footnotes, acknowledging the work of American and European scholars, add immeasurably to the value of the book.

Mount Holyoke College

NORMA ADAMS

WYCLIF AND THE OXFORD SCHOOLS: THE RELATION OF THE 'SUMMA DE ENTE' TO SCHOLASTIC DEBATES AT OXFORD IN THE LATER FOURTEENTH CENTURY. By J. A. Robson. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought. New Series, Volume VIII.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1961. Pp. xiii, 268. \$6.50.) The subtitle and the author's statement that he is concerned only with Wyclif's formative years at Oxford give the scope of the book. For those more interested in the historical figure, the book's primary significance is that it shows how Wyclif's philosophy determined his later theology. Robson concludes that as a philosopher Wyclif only shone against the decadence of philosophy at Oxford in his day. Wyclif himself most often cited men of a previous generation, especially Thomas Bradwardine and Richard Fitz-Ralph; Robson examines Fitz-Ralph's philosophy in his "Commentary" as well as his better-known treatise. Although less space is devoted to Bradwardine, whose ideas have been treated elsewhere, something of the reaction to his *De Causa Dei* is shown by its influence on Thomas Buckingham. Here Robson has illuminated a dark period in the history of the Oxford schools. As a result, changes will be required even in general histories, such as in both parts of this sentence from the *Oxford History of England* volume where it is stated that the *De Causa Dei* "seems to have made little impression at the time; and when Wyclif began to teach at Oxford in the sixties, the brand of nominalism favoured by Ockham was still the prevailing trend." At the same time, one must read carefully in order not to be misled by the author's tendency in later discussion to use as unqualified fact points that he had established earlier only after careful deliberation. In the second part of the volume the author provides a valuable analysis of Wyclif's *Summa de Ente*. His ultrarealism seems to have been self-acquired, helped by the reading of Robert Grosseteste. The concluding chapter shows that Wyclif's ideas in philosophy and pure theology continued to be discussed at Oxford until 1411, long after his controversial views had been condemned.

Although the author keeps to his limited theme, his book makes possible a fuller understanding of the later Wyclif.

Duke University

CHARLES R. YOUNG

PROCÈS DE CONDAMNATION DE JEANNE D'ARC. Volume I. Edited by *Pierre Tisset*, with the assistance of *Yvonne Lanhers*. (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck for the Société de l'Histoire de France, Fondation du Département des Vosges. 1960. Pp. xxx, 441, 6 plates. 36 new fr.) The personality of Jeanne d'Arc has perennial significance for the cultural life of France. Not merely an episode in French history, Jeanne has become a mirror in which Frenchmen attempt to see the true identity of France. It is appropriate, therefore, for each generation of French historians to make available to its contemporaries the documents for her life. Chief among those are the records from her trial and condemnation in 1431. Since modern times, critical editions of the documents of this trial have been produced by Jules Quicherat in 1841 and by Pierre Champion in 1920. Numerous translations, as well as a facsimile reproduction of an important manuscript, continue to appear. Records of the trial consist of the official proceedings drawn up in Latin some four years afterward and the original minutes taken in French during the trial, which served as the basis for the official version. The present editors have followed the example of Quicherat and Champion by printing the official Latin proceedings at the top of the page and the French minutes at the bottom. In effect this edition represents a slight refinement over that of Champion. Because no new manuscripts of significance have been found since the time of Quicherat, the text is substantially without alteration. The editors follow Champion in recording the variants of the three major manuscripts, but because these three were all notarized copies, the variations are insignificant. Apart from corrections of typographical errors and improvements of orthography and paragraphing, the only original contribution to Champion's edition has been the filling in of a small initial gap in the French minutes from an inferior manuscript. This manuscript was known to both Quicherat and Champion, but not included in their editions. Following Champion's example, a second volume containing an annotated translation in modern French is planned. Perhaps in these notes they will have opportunity to describe recent scholarship and even make contributions to the critical history of Jeanne d'Arc.

Johns Hopkins University

JOHN W. BALDWIN

REFORMATIO SIGISMUNDI: BEITRÄGE ZUM VERSTÄNDNIS EINER REFORMSCHRIFT DES FÜNFZEHNTEN JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Lothar Graf zu Dohna*. [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Number 4.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1960. Pp. 217. DM 21.) Since its appearance in 1439, the *Reformatio Sigismundi* has attracted widespread attention, particularly in times of revolutionary ferment. The recent interpretations of it as a revolutionary broadside reflecting the class struggles of the late Middle Ages by Marxist and Leninist historians has done much to arouse interest in this most significant reform pamphlet of the fifteenth century. Feeling that no *Weltanschauung* or ideology should be used as a starting point in evaluating the importance of the *Reformatio*, Dohna insists that the document be permitted to speak for itself. This, he feels, is now possible since Heinrich Koller of Vienna discovered a manuscript designated as "N," the best copy of the nonextant original, in Weimar in 1952. On the basis of a thorough examination and a collation of the printed editions and manuscripts, and by an exegetical approach which attempts to interpret each part of the *Reformatio* in the light of the entire work and the whole in the light of each part, Dohna comes to conclusions that must be given careful con-

sideration by historians of the period. He concludes that the author, whom he cannot identify by name, probably a secular priest of an imperial city in southwest Germany, was a conservative reformer, not a radical revolutionist. To illustrate the conservative character of the *Reformatio*, Dohna selects for examination passages that traditionally have been considered revolutionary and leaves for a fuller, subsequent treatment statements that obviously are conservative. For example, he interprets the phrase, "slach iedermann zue" (let everyone lay on), as "let everyone join," the meaning commonly implied in the fifteenth century when no object of the laying on is mentioned or inferred. He gives numerous excerpts from the German literature of that period in which the phrase is used in the sense of joining and calls attention to the context in which there is no reference to an object to be attacked or a call for the rising of the masses. Although it is difficult to evaluate Dohn's findings without having available a copy of manuscript "N" or Koller's forthcoming edition of the *Reformatio*, his well-reasoned analysis and thorough documentation warrant the belief that this revision will have a considerable impact on our treatment of movements for reform in the fifteenth century.

Ohio State University

HAROLD J. GRIMM

## Modern

### UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF LAND LAW. By *A. W. B. Simpson*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xx, 276. \$4.00.) This volume was written on the suggestion of the Board of the Faculty of Law at Oxford University to replace Holdsworth's *Historical Introduction to the Land Law* (1927), and like Holdsworth's is intended primarily for the use of undergraduate students of law. Simpson and Holdsworth agree that the best way of learning the doctrines of land law is to study their history, for the continuity of the law has not been seriously disturbed by the various acts of Parliament, even if we include those that went into effect on January 1, 1961. Simpson, however, believes that it is better for the student to learn what the law is and then to study its history, and here he differs from Holdsworth. Simpson's volume will be of considerable value to students of law. The author's hope, however, that it will "prove useful to pure historians" calls for comment. The historian will find here much that is familiar: the varieties of feudal tenure, the Assizes of Henry II, "De Donis," the complexities of medieval conveyancing, the Statute of Uses, and so on through Stuart and Hanoverian times. There is also in this volume much that the "pure historian" will find unfamiliar, but that he will be glad to learn. Unfortunately the author has not made it easy to proceed from the known to the unknown. In tracing the evolution through the centuries of this usage or that doctrine, the author has not related them clearly to the general course of constitutional history. His sentences, moreover, are surcharged with legal terms. To grasp their meaning the neophyte must constantly reread preceding paragraphs and pages. One thinks of Maitland, a lawyer, too, but with the art of making matters clear to the lay mind on first reading. Another difficulty of Simpson's book, a minor one perhaps, is his overlong paragraphs. One of two and one-half pages has been found. To be sure, the land law of England is not easy to learn. In its heyday it was called "an incomprehensible mystery," and perhaps the lawyers helped to keep it so. And despite a century and more of remedial legislation, the goal of "simple, cheap conveyancing with certainty of title" (Simpson's words) has not yet been attained.

Boston University

W. O. AULT

A LIFE OF JOHN COLET, D.D., DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S AND FOUNDER OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL, WITH AN APPENDIX OF SOME OF HIS ENGLISH WRITINGS. By J. H. Lupton. (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 323. \$6.50.) Appreciation of Dean Colet's character, ideas, and work found their first memorable expression in the sketch by Erasmus, 1521, still the main source of all subsequent biographies and for this very reason a text to be treated with caution. Knight's life (1724) added little. Seebohm's *The Oxford Reformers of 1498* (1867), which became a minor classic, was the first serious attempt to describe Colet's role in the intellectual and religious milieu of early Tudor England. His book was followed by Lupton's indispensable editions and translations of Colet's writings in seven volumes published between 1867 and 1876, and by Lupton's biography (1887) now reprinted from the second edition (1900). Lupton, who spent most of his life as surmaster of Colet's famous foundation, St. Paul's School, produced what is still the standard edition of More's *Utopia* and the best account of Colet. It is an unmistakably Victorian biography, for better or for worse. It gives us what facts could be learned and makes clear why Colet was a notable figure. Marriott's shorter biography (1933) did not supersede Lupton's. Reissue of this work, long out of print, is therefore welcome, though it would have been more useful had a list of recent studies been appended. Important contributions have been made since 1945, and more are expected. Two letters from Ficino to Colet have turned up (*Bibl. d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, XIV [Mar. 1952], 122-23); an edition of Colet's marginalia to Ficino's *Epistolae* is promised (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, LXXIV [Dec. 1950], 537n.). Lupton's book needs to be revised and supplemented, but until someone does this thoroughly or writes a new biography we must be glad Lupton's is again available. More urgently needed, however, are editions of Colet's texts. If new ones are not to be made, let us hope some publisher will reprint Lupton's editions.

Haverford College

CRAIG R. THOMPSON

ELIZABETH I AND THE UNITY OF ENGLAND. By Joel Hurstfield. [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1960. Pp. ix, 226. \$2.50.) Professor Hurstfield has produced a work of insight and condensation in which the limitations are primarily those imposed by size and purpose, for *Elizabeth I and the Unity of England* belongs to a series in which biography becomes the vehicle for the presentation and comprehension of selected epochs of history. The portrait of the Queen seems a little too pat, the picture of the age a little too tidy and neatly reasoned, but in a book so short the nuances have had to be sacrificed. Even so, not all readers will accept without reservation the picture of Gloriana as a paragon monopolizing the secret of political wisdom and constraining hotheaded soldiers and muddleheaded ministers who, if left to their own devices, would have destroyed what the Queen held most dear—the unity of England. Elizabeth emerges as the *grande politique* of her age, the political genius of constructive conservatism, always pliable, never doctrinaire, constantly wary of ideologies but always mindful of her single goal which she approached through many and devious means. That goal was peace and prosperity in which all subjects of the realm might share. If Hurstfield has somewhat overstated the case for Elizabeth, he has at least balanced it by a perceptive study of the Queen in old age—the tragic image of a ruler still loved but increasingly out of touch with reality. The magic of a virgin queen four hundred years dead has not diminished, and Hurstfield has sketched with marvelous economy a precise and vital picture of the monarch and the age that bears her name.

Northwestern University

LACEY BALDWIN SMITH

SIR ARTHUR INGRAM, C. 1565-1642: A STUDY OF THE ORIGINS OF AN ENGLISH LANDED FAMILY. By *Anthony F. Upton*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. 274. \$5.60.) This excellent book adds another to the growing list of detailed studies of early Stuart politics. Since Sir Arthur Ingram's political career lasted nearly forty years and since he was the confidant of major politicians from Robert Cecil to Wentworth, a political biography of the man illuminates a variety of problems in Stuart politics and administration. While not himself a major politician, Ingram is in many senses more interesting and more important to the historian than many of his better-known contemporaries. In the first place he was a strikingly successful practitioner of politics. Of obscure origin, relying solely upon native ability, he won successively the full confidence of Robert Cecil, of the Howards, of Cranfield, and, for a time, of Wentworth, and ended his days an ardent Puritan member of the Long Parliament, engaged in raising money for the parliamentary cause. Secondly, he was able to make a great fortune out of politics and to use these funds to found a great landed family. The fullness of the records and Upton's skillful use of them enable him to examine Ingram in both aspects of his career in considerable detail. Ingram's peculiar political talents were displayed in his role as liaison between court and city, the arranger of loans, the negotiator of contracts, and ultimately the great "fixer" of the Stuart court. A large part of his own fortune seems to have come from the "cuts" and commissions he collected as middleman rather than from direct participation in the various tax farms or monopolies with which he was connected. His role in both the government's fiscal schemes and in the private finances of major courtiers reveals the day-by-day functioning of Stuart court politics. The picture presented goes far to justify the Stuarts' most bitter critics. The desperate fiscal condition of James's government pushed considerations of public policy aside and opened the way for such shamelessly greedy self-seekers as Ingram and his kind. Although the resulting collapse of political morality was at its worst under James, it was too deeply rooted to be effectively overcome by Charles's reforming regime. At any rate this methodical and detailed study in Stuart politics will have to be taken fully into account in any reconsideration of the backgrounds of the Civil War. This is a valuable book, not only as the biography of a significant figure but also as an illuminating study of political practice in a centrally important epoch. It is only slightly marred by a failure to fill in the Ingram family scene.

*Haverford College*

WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY

THE CROWN AND THE MONEY MARKET, 1603-1640. By *Robert Ashton*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xvi, 223. \$4.00.) One of the subsidiary problems of Stuart fiscal history is the methods by which the Treasury raised funds both in anticipation of current revenues and in longer term loans. There was no money market in the modern sense to take up Treasury bills and bond issues, but there were individual men of wealth, the corporation of London, and syndicates of monied men who could be induced by royal favors, rewards, and privileges to lend to the crown. This volume is a study of the arrangements by which anticipations and loans were raised. It seems to surprise the author that practices in use since the Middle Ages such as the assignment of tallies continued to be used. The Tudors had relied heavily upon this device; the Stuarts made certain modifications to suit their times. The corporation of London was counted upon both for direct loans and for the guaranty of loans made by individuals and the livery companies. The chapter on the corporation's dealing in crown lands after 1627 to pay off loans which it had guaranteed is particularly valuable. The greatest reliance of the Treasury was placed upon the syndicates of financiers who, in return for the farms of revenues such as the farms of the customs,

advanced very large sums, both in short- and long-term loans. The story of the relations of the crown and the customs farmers, already told from several viewpoints is given a new slant and naturally occupies a central place in the study. James I was not a lovable character, and Charles I was thoroughly untrustworthy. Yet one comes away from this volume with the feeling that the author is too much influenced by the still fashionable (but now old) Whig interpretation of the early Stuarts and their policies. He views them from the standpoint of the Revolution of 1688 instead of trying to understand them in terms of their own social and economic milieu. Curiously enough he occasionally adds to the evidence that if the early Stuarts were neither very wise nor very good and often were served by utterly corrupt ministers, James and Charles were at least fumbling about for ways of doing the best that could be done to govern a society whose members were mostly on the make and who would not support with any adequacy the monarchy that tried to rule them. Ashton's superior tone reinforces his Whig prejudices to mar the excellence of his monograph.

*University of Illinois*

F. C. DIETZ

THE TOBACCO ADVENTURE TO RUSSIA: ENTERPRISE, POLITICS, AND DIPLOMACY IN THE QUEST FOR A NORTHERN MARKET FOR ENGLISH COLONIAL TOBACCO, 1676-1722. By *Jacob M. Price*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LI, Part 1.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1961. Pp. 120. \$2.75.) This is an excellent case study of the vigorous entrepreneurial activity that marked the England of William III and Queen Anne. In 1698 a syndicate of London merchants, taking advantage of Peter the Great's visit to England, acquired a contract for the sole importation of English tobacco into Russia. By painstaking but imaginative use of a wide variety of sources, Price has reconstructed the detailed story of this "adventure," illuminating the relations among the various cliques of London merchants, the connections between the merchants and the government and between the government and its diplomatic representatives abroad. The result is a lively account of how one section of the business community operated in London business circles, in Parliament (where it had as its representatives not just lobbyists but full-fledged members), in the Baltic trade, and, through its Moscow agent, in the Russia of Peter the Great. For the economic historian and the American colonial expert the opening and closing chapters on the northern trade in tobacco may be the most significant sections. Others may be more interested in the relations between England and a primitive Russia emerging from barbarism. I was impressed by the way Price has brought the whole episode alive by thorough biographical research. The individual merchants involved are not faceless anonymities: almost all of the men engaged in the tobacco contract have been indentified, the ramifications of their business activities have been traced, and the more important personal relationships among them indicated. Price's term for them is the "new gang," as distinct from the "old gang" in control of the East India and other established companies, and the "American gang" prominent in the various branches of the transatlantic trade. The Russian tobacco contract was only one of a number of important ventures undertaken by the "new gang." Many of them were also founders of the Bank of England and of the "New" East India Company chartered in 1698. Thanks to this informative and important piece of research we now have a much sharper picture of English commercial capitalism on the threshold of the eighteenth century.

*College of Wooster*

ROBERT WALCOTT

THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE. By *John Carswell*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 314. \$5.50.) Fifty years ago W. R. Scott in his three-volume



magnum opus on *English, Scottish, and Irish Joint Stock Companies* gave us the first really detailed study of the South Sea Company and the bubble it helped to blow. Since then the subject has received scant attention from economic historians, while the only researches into the interplay between politics and business during the years of boom and bust are embodied in an unpublished London M.A. thesis by Eric Wagstaff (1934) and in J. H. Plumb's first volume on *Sir Robert Walpole* (1956). No academic specializations or limited purposes fence in Mr. Carswell's range of treatment. His comprehensive aim is to reveal the "unity of economic with general political and social history" in the South Sea story; to regard the bubble year as "fatal end" and "culmination of the intensely active period in our history" which he calls "the Commercial Revolution"; to present the central melodrama in great detail with a full cast—about four hundred names appear in the index—of villains, eccentrics, and fools, of self-made or self-making men, of rival political or business groups fighting for power and conscious that business support, essential to political success, must be paid for; and finally to insist that the bursting of the bubble led to a "pause" that lasted fifty years, a "stability of arrest," a "temporary stunting of enterprise" which prevented the Commercial and Industrial Revolutions from "shading" into each other. For this ambitious project Carswell has scoured the great central manuscript and printed collections and tracked some of his characters down through a mass of local provincial materials. He tells his story well, often with a skilled dramatic touch, at times in unnecessary detail. Yet apart from the political insights and motivations, the essentials of the account do not differ greatly from those presented by Scott, and the forty pages devoted to Parliament's punishment of the "bad guys" become tiresome, even nauseating. References to sources have been kept to a minimum to such an extent that they might well have been dispensed with, since few of them can be checked outside London or a very large library. I did run down four references to an article and found three of them defective or wrong. Since Scott's account is described as "in some respects incorrect," it is disappointing to find that the only error actually pointed out is a slip of one day in the date of a meeting and the attribution of a speech to the wrong man. On one item Scott and Carswell disagree. For the rest, I find it impossible to accept the judgment that John Law was "one of the greatest economic and financial minds this country has produced." As for the "pause" and the fanciful speculation as to what might have happened had it been avoided—Seven Years' War armies using machine guns and steam-driven ironclads, Gray writing his *Elegy* to the distant rattle of a threshing machine, and "Dr. Johnson holding forth in his compartment as the Edinburgh train belches smoke and thunders across the countryside"—my marginal comment is not quotable.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

HERBERT HEATON

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF EDMUND BURKE. Volume III, JULY 1774–JUNE 1778. Edited by *George H. Guttridge*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. xxv, 478. \$12.00.) Nearly half of the letters in this volume are published for the first time; they were written in the four years from July 1774 to June 1778 and illustrate chiefly Burke's relations with his patron, Rockingham, and with the citizens of Bristol. He was elected to serve that constituency in the House of Commons in the general election in 1774 and sat for it until the next such election in 1780. These were frustrating years for both Burke and Rockingham. Rockingham and his party could not decide just how they ought to oppose a war that seemed to have the support of both the King and of an overwhelming majority of the people, and leaders of the groups opposing the ministers did not agree among themselves. Burke took pride in his election for Bristol, but he soon found that his new constituents demanded services he was



not always inclined to render and attention to local interests he was sometimes not in a position to give. He addressed a letter to them in which he tried to make clear that a member's first obligation was to the general interests of the nation rather than to the particular constituency that elected him. When he insisted on following his own judgment on legislation relating to Ireland, contrary to the views of some of the leading citizens of Bristol concerning the interests of their community, it was clear that the breach with his constituents could not be healed. Burke understood by 1778 that if he was to remain in the House of Commons it would be necessary to find another seat. The alliance of France with the rebelling colonies convinced the followers of Rockingham in the same year that the time had come to advocate independence for the North American provinces. The death of Chatham that year, while speaking in opposition to a motion for independence, opened the way for cooperation with his followers. The last letters in this volume indicate the breaking of a new day. The introduction and the editorial apparatus are adequate and facilitate the use of the letters.

*Duke University*

W. T. LAPRADE

GLADSTONE-GORDON CORRESPONDENCE, 1851-1896: SELECTIONS FROM THE PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE OF A BRITISH PRIME MINISTER AND A COLONIAL GOVERNOR. Edited with introductions by *Paul Knaplund*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LI, Part 4.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1961. Pp. 116. \$2.50.) Readers of Morley and Magnus will not find news of Gladstone here. The distinguished author's primary intention is supplying letters concerning colonial administration from 1861 to 1890. These describe New Brunswick, the West Indies, Mauritius, the Fiji Islands, Australasia, and Ceylon. A text of 103 double-columned pages includes letters partly in print elsewhere and truncates letters not in print elsewhere. Pages of comment on England note Disraeli's Jewishness in strong language and the delay of Gordon's peerage by a disgruntled colonialist. Most colonial pages describe the Fiji Islands.

*Oberlin College*

BARRY MCGILL

STRAFFORD IN IRELAND, 1633-41: A STUDY IN ABSOLUTISM. By *Hugh F. Kearney*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1959. Pp. xviii, 294. \$7.00.) This book's charm is that it is so unromantic. Strafford's lord deputyship of Ireland is examined solely in light of the evidence, with no attempt to justify it by, or use it to justify, his English standing as a great "statesman of the lost cause." The results are rather surprising. Kearney does not deal with debunking, but the familiar picture of the selfless agent of the king, who brought even the great earl of Cork to heel and divested him of illegally grabbed properties, is dimmed by the demonstration that Strafford himself, by 1640, "had become a planter with great estates in Ireland and formed part of the same group he had so bitterly criticized on his arrival in 1633." Even more blurred is the figure of the creative administrator whose policy, were it not for hugely adverse fate, might well have brought progress and enlightenment to that benighted island. Instead we have the story of a tough colonial governor, backed by unsurpassed authority, burdened with no tender concern for the older colonial hands or, less still, for the natives, and determined to force apparent chaos into seemly order. Strafford, of course, was a man with ability and ideals. The story, nevertheless, recounts his failure, which was due largely to his own character; as Kearney makes quite clear, the failure happened in Ireland, was in terms of Irish conditions that could neither be decreed away nor bluntly forced aside, and did not need the intervention of the Civil War to explain it. It was, moreover, a complete political, economic, and religious failure. The policy of "thorough," as is here shown, involved very little innovation. It depended on Strafford's manner and

authority. There was practically no legacy. About a quarter of the book is devoted to a study of the Irish Parliament of 1634. The degree to which that murky tangle is resolved proves that Namier's method will work even in Ireland and that Kearney is a first-rate historian.

Harvard University

JOHN V. KELLEHER

#### EUROPE

THE RENAISSANCE IDEA OF WISDOM. By *Eugene F. Rice, Jr.* [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 37.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 220. \$4.75.) Three things, according to the author, happened to the public concept of wisdom in the years from 1350 to 1600. It was secularized, that is, wisdom came to be thought of once more, as it had been in Cicero's time, as primarily a knowledge of nature, man, and virtue and also a knowledge of "divine things," in contradistinction to the medieval conception of wisdom as a knowledge either of divine things alone or of divine things mainly. It was humanized, that is, wisdom came to be thought of once more, as it had been before the rise of Christianity, as something that a man can acquire by his own efforts, through reason and in some cases through faith, and not only (as with St. Augustine) by the grace of God alone. Its ethical role was restored, that is, wisdom came to be thought of, as in classical times, as involving not only theoretical knowledge, but probity in conduct as well. The author admits that the new view of wisdom did not prevail universally. In fact, both "new and traditional definitions of wisdom were even advanced by the same man." Moreover, an abortive effort was made to equate wisdom with exclusively selfish prudence, as in Valla's *De Voluptate* and in Machiavelli's *Prince*. Leonardo da Vinci was among the defenders of the conception of wisdom against this kind of belief. Rice's grasp of the voluminous primary sources, in the original languages, is thorough and perceptive. Although he seems more at home among the Italian and French thinkers, he does justice to the contributions of Erasmus and Luther. His judgment that the new conception of wisdom became predominant is difficult to appraise without a careful examination of the contrary evidence, but he makes out a good case on the basis of the affirmative evidence with his occasional frank citation of the negative cases giving reason to believe that he has correctly evaluated both sides.

Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM GERBER

PROPAGANDA E PENSIERO POLITICO IN FRANCIA DURANTE LE GUERRE DI RELIGIONE. Volume I (1559-1572). By *Vittorio de Caprariis*. [Biblioteca Storica, New Series, Number 7.] (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1959. Pp. vi, 489.) In 1928, when J. W. Allen's authoritative *History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* appeared, he commented upon the very large number of political tracts and pamphlets, mostly anonymous, produced in France between 1559 and 1594. He believed them to be of the greatest significance and remarked that no complete study of them existed, nor even an approximately complete list. By 1960, when a further printing of Allen's book appeared, this challenge to historical research was accepted and met in this volume; the complete work will undoubtedly prove of fundamental importance among histories of propaganda and political theory. In this initial volume the author covers the years 1559-1572, up to the awful moment of St. Bartholomew which spawned prolonged violence and loosed a flood of political pamphlets. It is worthy of note that this undertaking began as a preparation for full understanding of the greatest and most powerful sixteenth-century political thinker, Jean Bodin. It has been ten years in the making, even as Bodin's own masterpiece, the *Six Livres de*

*la République* (1576) was the consummation of his enterprise and labor through the decade following the publication in 1566 of his *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*. We are given chapters packed with insistent detail of action and argument, yet we view as on a large canvas a great historical movement decisive for the shape of political construction and theory in France and the Western world for centuries to come. Anonymous tracts numbering 110 are listed in a special index; a full chapter of 50 pages makes a decided contribution to the subject of tolerance, its theorists, and its political practitioners, and gives discriminating attention to Michel de L'Hôpital. The pages are thick with notes and exact references. The author has aimed to examine all the sources; his research has been unflagging and solid, his insight keen, his analysis and interpretation not polemical, but judicial. Judging from the quality of this first volume, we may expect the next to give us a masterly historical study of Bodin's major work.

Duke University

ERNEST W. NELSON

THE POLITICAL TESTAMENT OF CARDINAL RICHELIEU: THE SIGNIFICANT CHAPTERS AND SUPPORTING SELECTIONS. Translated by *Henry Bertram Hill*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1961. Pp. xx, 128. \$3.75.) Like the *Mémoires* of Louis XIV, the *Political Testament* of Cardinal Richelieu was intended for the edification and instruction of the king who must carry on after the death of the author. Curiously enough, both works were probably dictated to a secretary or scribes who later polished and submitted completed drafts to the author for corrections, and both were not put into the form usually presented in print until after the deaths of the "writers." The circumstances of composition, once they are understood, neither detract from the value of the book nor lessen our appreciation of their authors. In the *Political Testament* we see a superbly competent statesman's estimate of the problems confronting royal government, followed by wise comments upon the best policies to be adopted. It would be folly to pretend that Richelieu's words offer political advice of universal application, but anyone somewhat familiar with seventeenth-century France will find in them the wisdom and insight warranting the reputation of the author and, at the same time, will deepen his understanding of the period in which Richelieu trod the stage. Hill has prepared an excellent translation of the more important parts of the *Political Testament*; his notes are clear, concise, informative, and accurate, and his short introduction will provide students who wish to delve into the French original with an indication of the road that is open to them. For those who cannot read French, this little book offers a window to the mind of the redoubtable Richelieu.

University of Minnesota

JOHN B. WOLF

LE JANSÉNISME EN LORRAINE, 1640-1789. By *René Tavenaux*. [Bibliothèque de la Société d'Histoire ecclésiastique de la France.] (Paris: Librairie J. Vrin. 1960. Pp. 759.) This massive study with its more than seven hundred tightly packed and carefully documented pages no doubt exhausts the topic of Jansenism in Lorraine. René Tavenaux, sensitive to the regional variations within his country in a way that no foreigner can ever be, traces the history of Jansenism in Lorraine to show what was special and unique about it. Lorraine was an intellectual as well as a commercial crossroads, and it received and nurtured its own Jansenism very early. The theological phase was stronger and lasted longer there than elsewhere. Scholarly disputation based on Jansenist assumptions marked life in the associated monastic establishments that dotted the entire duchy. But Jansenism had also another, more popular life. Infiltrating the seminaries and infusing catechisms and sermons, its teachings on grace, predestination, and penitence filtered down through the secular clergy into the rural faithful who

rather lived than understood or analyzed the principles of Jansenism. This rural province did not see the convulsions and ecstasies that agitated a section of the Paris bourgeoisie, nor did it experience until very late the collective Richerist movement of the lower clergy against episcopal authority. The *appel comme d'abus* was rare, because the curés in Lorraine had enjoyed a traditional independence and because several prelates during the early eighteenth century were themselves Jansenists. When these prelates died and when the general repression of democratic Richerism was extended to Lorraine after 1730, Jansenism there went underground and became more like the movement elsewhere. It confronted and resisted the aristocratic hardening within the Church and was assimilated to more general class and ideological movements for which the *abbé Grégoire* was the spokesman. When the Revolution came, Jansenists would accept and approve the Civil Constitution. It is not enough simply to call this study sound. The author's energy and devotion, his knowledge of theology and of society, are all admirable. And yet one can but wonder what more than a "useful" local study might have emerged had Taveneaux asked other questions. It is worth knowing that Jansenism in Lorraine existed and was different. But this knowledge does not in itself much enlighten us on the general and important questions about how religious change affected and was affected by other forms of change in society.

Princeton University

DAVID D. BIEN

DER PASCH-GRAF ALEXANDER VON BONNEVAL, 1675-1747. By *Heinrich Benedikt*. (Graz-Köln: Hermann Böhlau Nachf. 1959. Pp. 216. DM 14.50.) Heinrich Benedikt, a Viennese historian, has presented a compact and well-documented biography of Claude Alexandre Comte de Bonneval, a colorful though controversial French soldier of fortune. During the War of the Spanish Succession, Bonneval left the service of his native France to join the army of Prince Eugene of Austria and soon became his best general. Bonneval was acquainted with such famous persons as Leibniz, Fénelon, Cardinal Dubois, Montesquieu, and Voltaire. While popular in court and intellectual circles, his hot temper gained him many enemies. After losing favor with Prince Eugene, and being imprisoned for a year, in 1729, he offered his services to the Ottoman Sadrazam Topal Osman Pasha and played an important role in the modernization of the Ottoman army. He was converted to Islam and is known in Turkish history as Kumbaraci Ahmet Pasha. As a strategist for the Ottoman army, he contributed to Ottoman victories against Austria, but he later was able to prevent the Sultan's joining Austria's enemies. He considered Russia and not Austria the chief antagonist. Although the Marquis de Villeneuve, the French ambassador to the Porte, considered him a renegade, Bonneval strengthened French influence in Turkey. He was a close friend of the Francophile Said Efendi, who had accompanied his father, Yirmisekiz Chelebi Mehmet Efendi on his famous mission to Paris. Bonneval lost favor with the Sultan for a short time, but made a comeback. His wish to retire in France remained unfulfilled. He died and is buried in Istanbul. While French, Turkish, and other sources have been consulted, the main value of this study lies in the author's exploitation of hitherto largely unused Austrian archival materials. There are many references to records kept by Austrian officials who watched the activities of the renegade-adventurer. This work is also useful to the student as a source for diplomatic history, especially about developments in Austria, France, Russia, Sweden, and the Ottoman Empire.

American University

KERIM K. KEY

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY IN FRANCE SINCE THE REVOLUTION:  
AN ESSAY IN THE HISTORY OF POPULATION. By *Wesley D. Camp*. (New

York: Bookman Associates. 1961. Pp. 203. \$7.50.) By an analysis of demographic statistics, this work attempts to discern changing patterns in the age structure of the French population through marriage formation and dissolution and the productivity of marriages in France since the Revolution and to relate these to the social environment. Regional variations are noted, and French trends are compared with those in other Western European countries. Camp relies mainly upon censuses and vital statistics collected by the Bureau de la Statistique Générale since 1799 and by the Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques, but he has also consulted many specialized studies listed in a long critical bibliography. The text is interspersed with forty-five statistical tables and illustrated by forty-seven graphs, age pyramids, and maps showing marriage practices in France by departments. The statistical data is clearly presented and closely documented. The explanation of these changing family patterns is generally reasonable, but sometimes seems to need further substantiation. Since there are few historical studies of marriage and the family in France, Camp's conclusions will be of interest to both historians and sociologists. He finds that although divorce in France is much less frequent than in the United States or Austria, the divorce rate has risen steadily since the divorce law of 1884 as the result of greater urbanization, industrialization, and secularization. The rate of marriage and the average duration of marriage in France, however, have increased, and the number of children affected by divorce is a very small percentage of the total number of children in France. Although reliable vital statistics are lacking for much of the eighteenth century, he believes that the decline in the French birth rate is not attributable to the French Revolution, but had begun by the third quarter of the eighteenth century as the result of social and economic conditions. Contrary to Le Play's thesis, the inheritance laws of the Revolution were not a primary factor in this decline, and the divorce legislation of the Revolution was insignificant in its effects. Today French reproduction rates exceed those of West Germany and England, and the average size of the French family is larger than in the 1920's, to a considerable extent because of the expanded family allowance laws of 1939 and 1946. Illegitimate births in France declined somewhat in the twentieth century and are not among the highest in Europe. Among France's greatest social problems are abortions, frequent among married women, and mortality of infants, women in childbirth, and men over forty. Camp concludes that French family patterns since the Revolution have shown great consistency, except for the war periods of the twentieth century, and even after these recovery was rapid. Marriage and the family have gained in strength, and France is not the "degenerate" nation that some have thought it to be.

*State University College, New Paltz, New York* EVELYN M. ACOMB

LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS OF NAPOLEON. Volume I, THE RISE TO POWER. Selected and translated by *John Eldred Howard*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xxxiv, 540. \$8.80.) One acquires differing conceptions of Napoleon, according to the sources read. There is the Napoleon of the memoirs, presented with partisan adulation or hatred; the Napoleon of the printed correspondence, the eloquent, insatiable calculator, the dreamer of grand empire who was yet attentive to detail; and the Napoleon of the marginal notations on the manuscript reports and dispatches, the indefatigable administrator. Several editors, notably Lady Mary Loyd and J. M. Thompson, have attempted to bring the educated English and American reader closer to the "true" Napoleon by printing some of his letters in translation. The most recent attempt along this line, initiated by John Eldred Howard, is by far the best. In this first volume of a four-volume project, he prints in chronological order translations of 750 letters that carry Napoleon from the early years through the Treaty of Amiens. The letters are selected so that "no significant aspect of his life" is neglected, and "a proper

balance between the important and the secondary" is maintained. With rare exceptions, each letter is complete, and the omissions, when they occur, are usually indicated. The literal and vigorous translation communicates the powerful impact of the original French. The letters are divided into sections, "The Early Years," "Italy," "Egypt," "Brumaire," "Marengo," "Lunéville and Amiens," and each section is prefaced by an impeccably impartial narrative note which places the correspondence in context. How well the volume will succeed in communicating the "true" Napoleon to the general reader is uncertain, for it is only a selection, but it is a valiant try.

*Duke University*

HAROLD T. PARKER

ASSIMILATION AND ASSOCIATION IN FRENCH COLONIAL THEORY, 1890-1914. By *Raymond F. Betts*. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 604.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 224. \$5.00.) Mr. Betts has chosen to relate the theoretical arguments concerning French colonial policy during a rather arbitrarily selected period. Though Leroy-Beaulieu (1874) makes a surreptitious appearance, no good reason is adduced for excluding the debates of the eighties or, for that matter, those of an earlier period. Within these limits, the book reviews a good many writings in terms of "X said thus, and Y said so. . . ." It shows how, from a generally assimilationist consensus, opinion shifted (largely under pressure of experience in the field) to evolutionist and associationist views, and the part played in this change by ethical and sociological arguments. It also makes clear the relatively unimportant role of economic considerations, invoked to justify less rational or more particular urges. Long on exposition, the book is short on criticism. It fails to follow up or discuss the arguments it echoes, or to clarify the political and ideological position of protagonists in the debate and the background of the debate itself. We are left wondering how the ideas at issue were applied and to what effect; what the relation was (if any) between theory, colonial conditions, and the wider field of national and international affairs; and what the role of colonial endeavor might be as adjunct, derivative, or alternative of military (and other) ambitions. Although some of Betts's best pages concern Gallieni and Lyautey, whose verve saves them from the prevailing dreariness, he pays too little attention to soldiers' part in the debate, whether in terms of pragmatic method, or of *Gesta Dei per Francos*. A reference to Psichari might be in order here, also to Alfred de Tarde, among the first to recognize and approve the "Far West" character of North African adventure. This is a brief but disappointing book.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

EUGEN WEBER

FERDINAND DE LESSEPS APRÈS SUEZ: LE PIONNIER DE PANAMA. By *George Edgar-Bonnet*. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1959. Pp. 376. 1,500 fr.) This volume completes George Edgar-Bonnet's study of Ferdinand de Lesseps as "le Grand Français"—the tragic hero of entrepreneurship. After the glorious saga of Suez (*Ferdinand de Lesseps: Le Diplomate, le Créateur de Suez*, 1951) there remains to be told the humiliating chronicle of Panama. Neither the Panama Canal promotion nor the Panama scandal is the subject of the book, but they are central to the story of De Lesseps' last years. They are also central to Edgar-Bonnet's definitive effort to clear De Lesseps of undeserved opprobrium for his part in the Panama venture. Leaning heavily on the unpublished memoirs of Ferdinand's son and close associate, Charles de Lesseps, the author presents a persuasive brief for the De Lesseps and their associates. He argues that there was no element of fraud in De Lesseps' promotion, that Ferdinand's errors were those of visionary zeal not of self-interest or senility, that the French effort in Panama was, after initial blunders, essentially practicable and was criminally liquidated



out of political cowardice, that the Panama promoters were forced to pay for the rather disreputable services of journalists and political and financial fixers but that they approached or corrupted no one who did not force them to submit to the extortion endemic in the Parisian political-financial milieu. Virtually no one would now accuse the De Lesseps of fraud or sinister political motives, and the constructive work of the French engineers in Panama has been long recognized, but in meeting some of the other classic criticisms of the Panama promotion Edgar-Bonnet often moves from explanation to explaining away. Wherever he admits De Lesseps' faults he presents their honorable motives, but the motives of the enemies of Panama are almost always shown or conjectured to be disreputable. De Lesseps' major errors, the insistence upon a sea level canal and the gross underestimation of the costs of the work, are revealed and partially justified as manifestations of classic entrepreneurial optimism. But they are themselves revelations of the aged wizard's determination to repeat the miracle of Suez at whatever cost. After the failure of the first Panama loans, the errors and the determination clearly entailed the commitment to hand-to-mouth financial expedients—the yearly plebiscite of the small investor and the attendant necessity to re-create public faith through recourse to the shady operators of French journalism, finance, and politics. As it happened, Ferdinand was shielded from the most noxious consequences of his commitment by his son Charles who is more to be blamed than the author admits, but who suffered more than he deserved at the hands of the mendacious enemies of Panama and the republic and of the republican defenders of themselves and their system.

*State University of Iowa*

ALAN B. SPITZER

MÉMOIRES: VENU DE MA MONTAGNE. By *Paul Reynaud*. (Paris: Flammarion, Éditeur. 1960. Pp. 506. 17 new fr.) The mountain is not Sinai but Paul Reynaud's native Alpine crag from which he descended to launch his career in the arena of twentieth-century French politics. The first of two, this thick volume carries his memoirs through March 1936, covering much the same ground as portions of his wartime memoirs but with greater detail, lengthier citations, photographs, and some priceless reproductions of political cartoons by Sennep. We do not have here the years in which he was at the heart of affairs, but these were the years in which he fought the battle of lost causes: for the conversion of the fruitless Ruhr episode into a constructive policy of economic rapprochement with Germany, for the payment of American war debts, for the realignment of the franc to the already devalued dollar and pound, for Colonel de Gaulle's armored divisions, for a military and foreign policy that would have prevented the humiliating settlement of the Ethiopian and Rhineland crises. Events justified his often solitary stand on almost every point and against all camps. Rejecting La Rochefoucauld's "C'est folie que de vouloir être sage tout seul," he takes pride that he could speak out for himself—no matter how unpopular his ideas—and, unlike a Herriot or a Blum, could remain un beholden to any political party. (Who among the readers of this review can identify Paul Reynaud's party?) Yet for all his shrewd political insights into the weaknesses of parliamentary life in France, he fails to see one great weakness that he himself never worked toward overcoming: the absence of a responsible conservative party that might have spoken for his own Center and for the Right. One can understand the inner tension that drives Reynaud to write these memoirs; by a supreme irony he was destined to preside over the catastrophe of 1940 which more than any other man he had fought in the interwar years to avert. Churchill had a better fate.

*Duke University*

JOEL COLTON

THE NEW FRANCE. By *Edward R. Tannenbaum*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 251. \$5.00.) Professor Tannenbaum has the excellent and am-



bitious purpose of showing us "a national community in the process of changing its whole way of life." Even more ambitiously, he does this for the "general reader." He has much that is lively and pertinent to say about how Frenchmen live, work, and play, and how they see themselves and their places in the world. It is too much to hope for the burial of that overworked cliché about France, "plus ça change. . .," but Tannenbaum makes a comprehensive survey of how and why it is no longer "la même chose." With long, rapid, historical steps, *The New France* retraces the paths of continuity and marks those of change. Among the reasons for change, the author stresses recent technological and economic development and the altered international role of France since the First World War. The major theme is that of a delayed adjustment to the twentieth century. To see the slowness, failures, and successes of this adjustment, we range over the wide fields of economic life in city and country, politics, sex attitudes, family and school, literature, folklore, mass communications, and the arts with an author who has read widely, observed much, and steeped himself in the arts, high, low, and middle brow. The sections on the arts and literature are fresher and more interesting than those on economics and politics. The concern with success in "entering the twentieth century" leads, however, to some blurred judgments and overt or implied moral preachments in contradiction to the author's more usual tolerance and common sense. Is there a "right way" to enter the twentieth century? The final test may be that of power, and our values may be among the casualties of the century. General and professional readers will appreciate the clarity and vigor of Tannenbaum's combination of synthesis (new and old) with lively detail (and some fine photographs). They may bridle at the strained folksiness of a few touches, such as "Big Daddy politicians" and "Papa Pétain." The professional reader will appreciate the pleasantly personal bibliographical notes. Let us hope that some general readers also read further, lest they be left with somewhat too many simplifications that are oversimplifications. It would give the wrong emphasis to cite examples of such oversimplifications in a review too brief to do justice to many excellent formulations. Oversimplification and misleading compression are perhaps the necessary price of brevity and breeziness. Because of them, but even more because of this short book's merits, we wish *The New France* were a good bit longer.

*Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences*

VAL R. LORWIN

LANGRAND-DUMONCEAU, PROMOTEUR D'UNE PUISSANCE FINANCIÈRE CATHOLIQUE. Volume I, ANNÉES OBSCURES—MONTÉE. By G. Jacquemyns. [Institut de Sociologie Solvay, Centre d'Histoire Économique et Sociale.] (Brussels: Université Libre de Bruxelles. 1960. Pp. 320. 260 fr. B.) This is the first of a four-volume study which Professor Jacquemyns is devoting to the long-forgotten, but once notorious, company promoter of mid-nineteenth-century Belgium. Son of a Flemish weaver-publican, André Langrand served his business apprenticeship in his brother's insurance office in Brussels. Here he established relations among the rich and the socially prominent which permitted him at twenty-five to launch in 1852 his own company, Les Rentiers Réunis. This was only the first of a score of insurance companies that he founded or directed before 1870 in Belgium, the Netherlands, England, and Austria. During the 1860's this self-styled "Napoleon of Finance" expanded his operations into the fields of mortgage and land banks and railroads. The formula was simple: an imposing array of great names among his directors; sizable dividends, even if unearned, to boost the price of his stock on the exchanges; large-scale though often unscrupulous publicity combined at times with astute bribery. He went bankrupt in 1870, bringing disaster to many Catholic supporters in Belgium and Austria who had accepted his slogan of "calling capital to Christian Baptism." This volume carries the story only to 1860. It

leaves some doubt whether Langrand merits as extensive treatment as the author plans.  
*University of Vermont* PAUL D. EVANS

A CRITICAL SURVEY OF STUDIES ON DUTCH COLONIAL HISTORY. By W. Ph. Coolhaas. [Bibliographical Series, Number 4.]. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff for the Netherlands Institute for International Cultural Relations. 1960. Pp. 154. Glds. 12.) This study is a revision of a bibliographical article written by the author which appeared in the *Revue d'histoire des colonies* (XLIV [May 1958], 311-448). It is an excellent handbook for all those concerned with Dutch colonial history. Because the great majority of the works cited are by Dutch authors, all titles have been translated into English. Each section contains not only a short historical account of events, but also of historical writings and the current attitudes pertaining thereto. The author carefully analyzes various schools of historical interpretation treating Dutch colonial history and stresses that nationalism and other "isms" make balanced judgments almost impossible. He tries to guide the reader through the more extreme schools and those having a more rational approach. This is especially valuable for Indonesia and the policies there of the Dutch East India Company and later of the Netherlands government. As might be expected, the most extensive part of the study deals with the Dutch East Indies. Other chapters treat archives and their policies toward readers, journals, university chairs, travel books, and the activities of the Dutch West India Company. Of special interest to English readers are the critical comments on works dealing with the culture system and with the expansion of Dutch influence in the East Indies during the 1920's, which was a contributory factor in the growth of Indonesian nationalism. Coolhaas is well versed in his field and has supplied English-speaking historians with an able, critical study. The final result is a tribute to the scholarship of the author, the generosity of the Netherlands Institute for International Cultural Relations, and the efforts of the publisher. The book is a real addition to our knowledge of materials dealing with the expansion of the Netherlands in the Orient, in Africa, and in the New World.

*Coe College*

JOHN J. MURRAY

THE SCHOOL OF PADUA AND THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN SCIENCE. By John Herman Randall, Jr. [Università di Padova, Centro per la storia della tradizione aristotelica nel Veneto; Columbia University Seminars, University Seminar on the Renaissance. Saggi e testi, Number 1.] (Padua: Editrice Antenore; distrib. by Renaissance Society of America, New York. 1961. Pp. 141. \$2.50.) This volume is a collection of three previously published papers by the author: "The Development of Scientific Method in the School of Padua" (1940), "The Place of Pomponazzi in the Padua Tradition" (1945), and "The Place of Leonardo da Vinci in the Emergence of Modern Science" (1953). Generally it is not wise to republish one's earlier papers without extensive revision (and these papers have not been substantially revised). But in this case republication is definitely justified, for when originally published, the papers did not include the original Latin and Italian textual material on which the conclusions were based. This material has now been added to the footnotes, and in each case the present form of the article completely supersedes the earlier one. My favorite Randall article has always been the first one, and I shall confine my remarks to it. In my opinion it showed that however important certain currents represented as Platonism might have been in the development of early modern science, one could not ignore the important discussions of scientific method among the Aristotelians, discussion that went back deep into the Middle Ages. I have always thought that this article stimulated later students like Crombie to undertake a careful analysis of the various commentaries on

the *Posterior Analytics* in the medieval universities. It also focused attention on the importance of the medical teachers in the growing discussion of scientific method, starting as the article did with an analysis of the views of the famous medieval medical author, Pietro d'Abano. In brief, it opened up the changing fortunes of the discussion of the Aristotelian resolute and compositive procedures down to Galileo. And while the Paduans vis-à-vis earlier medieval discussion may not have been as original as Randall claims, he does show that the Paduans were concerned with a logic of investigation and inquiry as well as with a theory of proof.

University of Wisconsin

MARSHALL CLAGETT

CASANOVA: A BIOGRAPHY BASED ON NEW DOCUMENTS. By J. Rives Childs. (London: George Allen and Unwin. [1961.] Pp. 323. 32s.) Jacques Casanova de Seingalt (1725-1798) has labored under the tradition of being either a great social historian or a great liar. For decades a group of "Casanovists" has dedicated itself to substantiating the former proposition. Of these a leading member is Mr. Childs, native of Virginia and veteran of the United States Foreign Service. Author of *Casanoviana: An Annotated World Bibliography . . .* (1956), he has devoted the years since his retirement to concentrated research on Casanova's life, with the aim of authenticating details in the *Memoirs* and editing his annual *Casanova Gleanings* at Nice. As a member of the international group of editorial consultants retained by F. A. Brockhaus in conjunction with that publisher's definitive "Integral Edition" (1960- ), Childs has had access to the original manuscript of the *Memoirs*. The result is a chronological study that will probably rank for years as the most reliable in English. It is painstaking to the verge of pedantry (there is much to be pedantic about), and like most of its predecessors, since the *Memoirs* stop at 1774, it neglects the last quarter century of the adventurer's life. But it offers, in addition to the text, a detailed chronology, a basic, six-part bibliography winnowed from reams of ephemera, fifteen illustrations, and an admirable index. More essentially, it goes far in demonstrating its thesis that "il Cavaliere di San Gallo," this self-confessed amateur of living and connoisseur of women, was appreciably more than that and that his *Memoirs* are a rich record of his days and era.

Baltimore, Maryland

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

IL CROLLO DEL REGNO DELLE DUE SICILIE. Volume I, LA STRUTTURA SOCIALE. By Domenico Demarco. [Biblioteca degli "Annali" dell'Istituto di Storia Economica e Sociale, Number 1.] (Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli. 1960. Pp. xi, 214. L. 2,500.) When G. M. Trevelyan brought out his *Garibaldi and the Thousand* over fifty years ago, he referred to "the astonishing feats of 1860" and mildly apologized for retelling in such detail the story of adventures which had been for half a century "such stuff as schoolboys' dreams are made of." Astonishment still colors narratives of Garibaldi's triumphal march from Marsala to the Volturno, and it is even expressed in scholarly monographs full of analysis and statistics such as this one by Demarco. "What are the causes of the sudden collapse of the oldest and largest state in Italy?" he asks. And the answer, after sifting mountains of evidence, appears to lie in the undermining of the social balance that occurred between 1815 and 1860. Rosario Romeo and other scholars have come to similar conclusions, but this author's originality is found in his argument that the "profound metamorphosis" came precisely in the span of these forty-five years. It was in these years, he maintains, that an agrarian bourgeoisie seized the authority formerly exercised by the feudal nobility and that there was an important expansion and mechanization of industry in spite of limited internal and foreign markets. Since royal policies did not keep pace with these changes, the monarchy lost the possible loyalty of the new men as it had already lost that of the

barons. And the peasants, in the course of having been liberated, gained nothing in place of the security that they had had in their rights on demesne lands, though they were still subject to exploitation in such medieval ways as being required to grind flour only in the privileged mills. Here is a splendid footnote for Lampedusa's *Gattopardo*. Don Calogero, the peasant become landed burgher, is present in all his statistical aspects, and, disguised as government policies, we can recall the figure of Ferdinand II and his *mise en scène* in the remarkable audience with Prince Fabrizio. "The hell with the royalists and the same for the liberals," thinks the Prince. May we not share his thoughts a century later and consider that more can be done about an annoying coffee stain on a fresh white vest than about the boring and inevitable sameness in the comings and goings of Saracens, Normans, Spaniards, Lazzaroni, Bourbons, Garibaldians, and regional politicians. Can it be that the Two Sicilies and the present territories which formed that kingdom are doomed to have as motto and description those words used by Lampedusa for the dying Prince Fabrizio: "un naufrago alla deriva su una zattera, in preda a correnti indomabili"?

*Northwestern University*

GEORGE T. ROMANI

DER HALLESCHES PIETISMUS UND DER PREUSSISCHE STAAT UNTER FRIEDRICH III. Volume I. By *Klaus Deppermann*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1961. Pp. 188. DM 14.80.) This solid, lucid dissertation carries on with the study of the crucial role played by Pietism in the foundation of Prussian statism recently stressed by Carl Hinrichs. The author concentrates on the role of Pietism as the chief link between the Calvinistic rulers of Brandenburg-Prussia and their Lutheran subjects during the reign of the first Prussian king, when Spener and Francke gave Pietism its characteristic religious and social ethos. Spener's influence purged it of radical spiritualism, and Francke, through his educational achievements at Halle, projected a fusion of religious and social ideals and reforms which, while incurring the opposition of local estates and clerical orthodoxy, received the general support of the central government. In the long run, Pietism contributed to the defeudalization of society and to entraining the nobility and the middle class into state service. Deppermann agrees with Hinrichs that, unlike Calvinistic Puritanism, Lutheran Pietism, because it emphasized the universality of grace rather than the doctrine of election, stressed the ethic of social responsibility rather than rationalized individual acquisitiveness. He does not, however, concur with the thesis that Pietism thus led directly to socialism. Throughout, the author maintains good balance between the intrinsic claims of religion and the exigencies of the historical situation.

*Wayne State University*

WILLIAM J. BOSSENBRONK

FREDERICK THE GREAT AND SAMUEL VON COCCEJI: A STUDY IN THE REFORM OF THE PRUSSIAN JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION, 1740-1755. By *Herman Weill*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin. 1961. Pp. ix, 181. \$4.00.) This conscientious but undistinguished study focuses on the practical aspects of the administration of justice in early Frederickian Prussia and, more particularly, on the recasting of judicial institutions by Cocceji. Cocceji's objectives and achievements certainly should not be minimized, but they also should not be glamorized as they are in this monograph. Weill recites once more the well-known: the reorganization of the courts of law, the improvement of trial procedure and the standardization of the appellate system, the personnel reforms, the reduction of corruption, the abolition of the venality of officeholding, the removal of incompetent judges, and the introduction of novel, "modern" standards for the recruitment, training, promotion, and financial remuneration of the judiciary.

Weill has read rather widely, though not deeply in the pertinent literature. By means of well-chosen references to the *Acta Borussica*, he gives some personal color to his essentially technical story. Yet, he has contributed nothing to better understanding. He fails to look below the surface, and almost all his points are derived from the old authorities. Thus, upon close scrutiny, this account proves to be unoriginal and, often, uncritical. It is antiquated in approach and in interpretation. Lacking the necessary insight into the political system and the social structure of Frederickian Prussia, Weill does not come to grips with the thorny political, social, economic, and psychological problems that provided the historic setting for Cocceji's reforms. And the appraisal of the significance of these innovations, both in the short and in the long run, is blurred by narrow vision and by serious misconceptions as to the fundamental difference in the function of law in a *Polizeistaat* and in a *Rechtsstaat*. Weill's exposition is useful only to readers who are unfamiliar with the older but far superior works of Hintze, Holtze, Loening, Stölzel, and, perhaps, even Bornhak, the leading German experts in this field, who wrote more than half a century ago. It is a little distressing to see a diligent, well-meaning young American scholar specializing in German history preoccupied with catching up, so late and, moreover, in diluted form, with the dated views of the contemporaries of Bismarck and William II.

*University of California, Berkeley*

HANS ROSENBERG

POLITISCHER BRIEFWECHSEL DES HERZOGS UND GROSSHERZOGS CARL AUGUST VON WEIMAR. Volume I, VON DEN ANFÄNGEN DER REGIERUNG BIS ZUM ENDE DES FÜRSTENBUNDES 1778-1790; Volume II, VOM BEGINN DER REVOLUTIONSKRIEGE BIS IN DIE RHEINBUNDSZEIT 1791-1807. Edited by Willy Andreas. Compiled by Hans Tümmeler. [Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, Numbers 37 and 38.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1954; 1958. Pp. xxii, 597; x, 640. Cloth DM 32.60, DM 38; paper DM 26, DM 34.) The publication of the first of these volumes was twice delayed by bombings, and while it was again in process of preparation in 1953, the editor's own *Carl August von Weimar: Ein Leben mit Goethe* appeared. The second volume ends with 1807. A third will follow. These are part of an extended series being published by the Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences. Dr. Tümmeler has had access to archives on both sides of the iron curtain and seems to have made good use of them; his lengthy introductions will be very useful. Letters to, from, or about Carl August are quoted in full or in part, in French or in German, or summarized in German in italics. Items from the old Secret State Archive or others, now renumbered as a consequence of the reorganization of these materials in Merseburg or elsewhere east of the iron curtain, are listed here under their old designations. Items appear in chronological sequence and are serially numbered. Each carries its own identification as to source, an indication (by the compiler) of its principal subject matter, and in many cases bibliographical references as well. Footnotes conveniently placed contain further bibliographical information and explanatory comment. Everyone is identified. The thoroughness with which all this has been done is most admirable. Tümmeler has well earned the editor's praise for his industry and perseverance, particularly as this task has been superimposed upon those of the headmaster of an Essen secondary school.

*University of Wisconsin*

CHESTER V. EASUM

STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER INDUSTRIELLEN REVOLUTION IN DEUTSCHLAND. By [Hans] Mottek et al. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Wirtschaftsgeschichte an der Hochschule für Ökonomie Berlin-Karlshorst, Number 1.]



(Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1960. Pp. 240. DM 19.50.) This book is the first of a series of monographs on the history of the Industrial Revolution in Germany sponsored by the *Institut für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* located in the Communist-controlled part of Germany. More politically oriented than even the *Humboldtuniversität*, the institute was designed to train officials independently for the East German planning agencies. Modeled on the Soviet pattern, it has emphasized the official Communist doctrine. Lately, it is supposed to have moved closer to the university. The head of the institute and also editor of the series, Mottek, earlier wrote a German economic history which was badly received in West Germany. Regardless of his Marxian doctrinarism, he has the reputation of being well informed on the problems in his field. The present volume bears out that contention. Mottek introduces this collection of essays with a discussion of the course and the problems of the German Industrial Revolution. He considers the concept a useful one which is questionable. He believes that that revolution began when the investment of fixed capital became decisive. This is a sensible viewpoint because it shifts the emphasis from technology to a socioeconomic fact. His essentially Marxian attempt at periodizing German economic development is worth noting, though many would disagree with it. The rest of the book consists of four articles, two each in the fields of economic and social history. They deal in a positivistic and quantitative way with the German linen industry, the financing of corporations, the social origin of German industrialists, and the role of internal, nonagricultural migration in early German industry. The articles are based on unimpeachable sources interpreted from the Marxian viewpoint. Though somewhat pedestrian, they are obviously reliable in details.

Harvard University

FRITZ REDLICH

STUDIEN ZUR RECHTSANSCHAUUNG BISMARCKS. By *Heinz Kober*. [Tübingen Studien zur Geschichte und Politik, Number 13.] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1961. Pp. xii, 305. DM 30.) This volume on Bismarck's concept of law is an interesting companion piece to G. A. Rein's *Die Revolution in der Politik Bismarcks* (1957). The two works complement each other, both authors agreeing on the essentially religious foundation of Bismarck's understanding of law and revolution respectively. Germany has recently witnessed a series of vindications of Bismarck and attacks against the Bismarck biography by the "Whig historian" Erich Eyck. Kober's book belongs to this series. His problem is clearly stated: it is the conflict—or "apparent" conflict, according to the author—between Bismarck's unquestionably Christian convictions and his policies. Kober's solution follows closely Srbik's original interpretation of the essentially Lutheran, not Machiavellian (Eyck, Von Martin), nature of Bismarck's policies. Reducing Troeltsch's distinction between Bismarck's private and public morality to the former's "wrong understanding of Luther," Kober argues that Bismarck's thinking and acting were determined by his Lutheran awareness of original sin. On this note the book, which displays an impressive learning and familiarity with all facets of the Bismarck problem, becomes something of a tour de force. Kober can make out a good case for Bismarck's reliance upon the Prussian *Obrigkeitsstaat*, but not, as he is finally forced to admit, for the Chancellor's policies during the *Kulturkampf*. The passages on Bismarck's justification of his policy toward the other German dynasties, in particular the Habsburg dynasty, are weakest. A nearly absurd instance of the tour de force occurs when Kober cites Bismarck's order to take fewer French prisoners and to aim at the destruction of the enemy in the field, and immediately emphasizes the "deeply religious roots" of Bismarck's thought. Such a humorless, pious interpretation of Bismarck represents a retrogression in comparison with the old Meinecke's measured evaluation of the Chancellor. The Bismarck hagiog-

raphy of the pre-1933 era is dead. Long live the new Bismarck sophistry! The excellent bibliography fails to mention the important new publication of documents from the German diplomatic archives, *Bismarck and the Hohenzollern Candidature for the Spanish Throne*, edited by Georges Bonnin (1957).

Smith College

KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

DEUTSCH-AMERIKANISCHE RÜCKWANDERUNG: PROBLEME—PHÄNOMENE—STATISTIK—POLITIK—SOZIOLOGIE—BIOGRAPHIE. By *Alfred Vagts*. [Beihefte zum Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien, Number 6.] (Heidelberg: Carl Winter-Universitätsverlag, 1960. Pp. 216. DM 21.) Professor Vagts has given us not only a comparatively new word, "remigrants," as descriptive as "re-defectors," but also a comprehensive study of the return of the German-born from the United States. He has gone so far toward including all those eligible as to have mentioned, at least incidentally, a number of persons such as Karl [*sic*] Schurz, who returned only as a visitor and who was unlikely to think seriously of remaining in Germany. Nor does he differentiate very sharply between those who had been naturalized and those who had not, although this item is noted in most cases. He includes many, such as the successful musicians and other artists, who followed their professional opportunities where they found them but who still lived in their own world of art and psychologically "never left home." The architects of the pre-Nazi *Bauschule*, on the other hand, did not remigrate, although several of them revisited Germany. They were too successful and too busy to return. Vagts is less seriously concerned with generalizations or even with categories than with amassing a bewildering array of names and cases of repatriation. In so far as he permits himself to generalize or generalizations to be drawn from the biographical material he presents, it would appear that (with exceptions) the successful German-American did not return except on sentimental journeys, while the maladjusted or unsuccessful German-American yearned for home. Due notice is given to some involuntary remigrants such as Gerhard and Hans Eisler, *Führer* Fritz Kuhn of the late German-American *Bund*, and others deported for un-American activity. Some of the involuntary exiles of 1848 returned as soon as amnestied. More credit might perhaps have been given to the gallant band of anti-Nazi *émigrés* who, usually after years of successful adjustment and contribution to American life, especially in the colleges and universities, were encouraged to return to professional life in Germany. Friedrich Meinecke saluted one of these, Hans Rothfels of Königsberg, Brown, Chicago, Tübingen, and the *Vierteljahrsshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, as a "Builder of Bridges between the Peoples." Several, though by no means all, such persons are mentioned, and builders of bridges they have been indeed. There is here, however, no sign of recognition of the personal sacrifice many of them have had to make, with all or most of their (now) adult children and grandchildren "at home" in America while they themselves loyally serve both peoples. These citizens of both worlds knew well how to value their citizenship, and those who gave it up did so with real reluctance.

University of Wisconsin

CHESTER V. EASUM

EIN LEBEN IN BRENNPUNKTEN UNSERER ZEIT: WIEN, BERLIN, NEW YORK; GUSTAV STOLPER, 1888-1947. By *Toni Stolper*. (Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich Verlag Hermann Leins, 1960. Pp. 502. DM 28.50.) Gustav Stolper, best known to American readers by his books *The German Economy, 1870-1940*, and *German Realities*, was one of the most colorful figures among the exiles from the Third Reich to come to these shores. He grew up in imperial Vienna, became coeditor of the influential *Österreichischer Volkswirt*, and joined the circle around Friedrich Naumann. In 1925 he was called to Berlin to edit a liberal newspaper, but resigned soon to found the



*Deutscher Volkswirt*, a weekly modeled after *The Economist*. It gave him an excellent platform for launching new political and economic ideas. He supported Stresemann and the Locarno policy warmly, but was most influential during the Brüning era. Twice the democratic voters of Hamburg elected him to the *Reichstag*, but his bold proposals for economic recovery could not be carried through in the rising tide of National Socialism. Soon after Hitler took office, Stolper left Germany and settled in New York where he served as adviser to European banks. During and after the war his expert knowledge of German affairs was in demand in Washington. When Herbert Hoover went to Germany at Truman's request in February 1947, he took Stolper along on his mission. He participated decisively in the drafting of Hoover's proposals for the revival of the German economy, which Truman accepted immediately. The overexertions of those exciting months may have contributed to Stolper's early death. Toni Stolper was her husband's closest collaborator; with candor, tact, and wisdom she circumvented the dangers that might affect a biography written by the widow. In preparing this volume, she had the constant support of former Federal President Theodor Heuss, Stolper's most intimate personal and political friend in Germany. The book has been received in the Bonn Republic with unexpected enthusiasm; a shorter English version might appeal also to American readers. Beyond telling Stolper's life story, this biography conveys an important message to students of German history. Toni Stolper rightly believes the Weimar Republic should not be judged exclusively from the perspective of 1933. At its height, that often maligned era possessed more splendor and creative genius than those who only know it from diplomatic documents realize.

*Trenton State College*

FELIX E. HIRSCH

DER DEUTSCHE IMPERIALISMUS UND DER ZWEITE WELTKRIEG. Volume I, HAUPTREFERATE UND DOKUMENTE DER KONFERENZ. [Materialien der wissenschaftlichen Konferenz der Kommission der Historiker der DDR und der UdSSR zum Thema "Der deutsche Imperialismus und der zweite Weltkrieg" vom 14. bis 19. Dezember 1959 in Berlin.] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1960. Pp. 343. DM 13.90.) The first joint meeting of the Commission of East German and Soviet Historians in 1957 at Leipzig resulted in two sizable volumes of papers and discussions. The second such conference met in December 1959 at Berlin. This volume, containing eight *Referate* delivered there, is planned as the first of five, with the remainder presenting reports of discussions and shorter papers, all focused on the role of German imperialism before and during the war, and its destruction. In the earlier publication, one volume was devoted to the effect of the Bolshevik Revolution on the Germany of 1917-1919, and one principally to sharp criticism of Western "bourgeois-reactionary" historiography of the second war. The papers in this new publication, despite numerous examples of similar criticism, have a more positive tone. They discuss chiefly the background of the war, the military significance of the eastern front, and the Communist view of resistance within Germany and in occupied countries. "Scientific" analysis naturally prevails: it was an imperialist war, writes J. A. Boltin, starting with internecine strife among the capitalistic nations. Soviet arms, and "antifascist" resistance, were decisive; the Western powers stalled, the second front was deliberately delayed, the groundwork laid for blocking Soviet Russia, and presumably for rebuilding a new imperialist Germany. Economics, not social or psychological factors, decide wars. Nevertheless, one of the best papers is that of A. S. Jerussalimski on "Die Ideologie des deutschen Imperialismus." S. Doernberg's praises of the East German Republic and Leo Stern's finale on West German rearmament emphasize the polemical tone of the book. N. G. Pawlenko, on the Soviet military contribution, and J. Zukertort, on the Nazis' claim of a "pre-

ventive" attack on Russia, make interesting contributions. But, disappointingly, none of the papers embodies much new material from Soviet or captured German archives.

*Harvard University*

REGINALD H. PHELPS

DVIZHENIE NEMETSKOGO NARODNOGO KONGRESSA ZA EDINSTVO GERMANII I MIRNYI DOGOVOR, 1947-1949 [The German People's Congress Movement for the Unification of Germany and a Peace Treaty, 1947-1949]. By *G. N. Goroshkova*. (Moscow: Institute of International Relations Press for the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Institute of History. 1959. Pp. 270. 10 rubles, 10 kopecks.) This is a history of a "front" organization established in 1947 in East Germany by the Soviet Communists as an ostensibly representative body striving for German unity and for a peace treaty between a unified Germany and the victorious powers. The German People's Congress was created to influence Western policy, particularly during the Foreign Ministers' meetings of December 1947 in London and of May 1949 in Paris, to dignify the new Socialist Unity party, created by the fusion of the Communists and of some Social Democrats, and to provide foundations on which the German Democratic Republic could be built. Miss Goroshkova's book is remarkable in many ways, not only for its uncritical attack on Allied policy but especially for its almost incredible omissions. Thus, in a study of a movement in theory devoted to German unity, there is no mention of Königsberg or East Prussia, the loss of what the Poles now call "the Western territories" to Poland, joint companies, or Soviet reparations policy. There is no description or analysis of Soviet administration of East Germany, and Soviet policy on Germany throughout this period is noted by its absence. Indeed, the attack by Miss Goroshkova on Allied policy must confuse the reader for she provides no analysis of the Soviet policy against which the Allies were reacting. The Communist seizure of power in Czechoslovakia is not mentioned, and the Berlin blockade crisis receives less than two pages of space. The brief description of the Soviet blockade of Berlin is almost a classic as an understatement: the Soviet administration "took steps to limit transport and communications between Berlin and the Western zones." Stalin is absent from this volume; in fact, the Soviet Union apparently had no ruler before Khrushchev. One speech of Stalin's is listed in the bibliography, compared to fifteen of Khrushchev's, twelve of which were made in 1959. The significant November 1958 speech, which launched the current Berlin crisis, is not listed or mentioned. In short, this volume is an interesting illustration of the Soviet position on Germany and of the quality of much Soviet scholarship in the field of recent history.

*Indiana University*

ROBERT F. BYRNES

DER FÖDERALISMUS IM DONAURAUM. By *Rudolf Wierer*. [Schriftenreihe des Forschungsinstituts für den Donaauraum, Number 1.] (Graz-Köln: Verlag Hermann Böhlau Nachf. 1960. Pp. 236. DM 20.) Although the author's political aim is to recommend a regional association as a path to a federated Europe, his book is primarily a scholarly survey of constitutional arrangements in relation to nationality problems in the Habsburg monarchy (his "Danubian Area") since the Revolutions of 1848 and in its "Succession States," except for Poland, Rumania, and Italy. Wierer knew the monarchy, lived in Moravia in the first Czechoslovak republic, and resided in Germany in 1960. Critical of dualism, reservedly favorable to Francis Ferdinand's plans, and admiring the Sudeten-German leader, Rudolf Lodgman v. Auen, he holds that federal arrangements would have saved the Habsburg monarchy, strengthened by parliamentarianism and democratic franchise. For his Danubian federation, he urges proportional representation, a free association of nationalities not too disparate, especially in numbers, and as a prime necessity the return to Czechoslovakia of the expelled Ger-

mans. Although he does not examine the general positions of the scholarly works on his subject, he has studied the scholarship carefully, and he refers extensively to treatments in German, Czech, Magyar, and Serbo-Croatian, as well as to most important publications in this country and England in the past twenty-five years. One reader finds it hard to see how the book promotes the author's political purposes. All the same, thought about the reconciliation of national antagonisms through a democratic, parliamentary, federal structure is welcome, not least in the present unfavorable political circumstances of Eastern Europe and not only for that part of the world. The book's main usefulness perhaps lies in an experienced legal scholar's compact summaries of the numerous Habsburg constitutions and of most proposals for constitutional reform treated extensively in Volume II of R. A. Kann's magisterial *Multinational Empire* (1950).

University of Washington

D. E. EMERSON

L'UKRAINE SOVIÉTIQUE DANS LES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES ET SON STATUT EN DROIT INTERNATIONAL, 1918-1923. By *Vasyl Markus*. Preface by *Charles Rousseau*. (Paris: Éditions Internationales. 1959. Pp. 326.) Vasyl Markus' book combines two separate but related studies. In the first he sketches Ukraine's development as a political entity in the troubled period ending in 1923 and gives a more detailed chronological survey of Ukraine's international relations and especially its relations with Bolshevik Russia. The second portion of the study analyzes and develops the thesis that in law Ukraine must be considered an independent state during the period 1917-1923. No effort is made to discriminate among the several governments that claimed control, though the author's sentiments are anti-Soviet, and the argument rests on definitional and legalistic grounds. For the historian the most interesting portion of the study is the detailed portrayal of the merger between Ukraine and the Bolshevik Republic as the latter absorbed political, economic, and diplomatic functions even though Ukraine continued to be recognized as an independent state. Unfortunately this discussion, interesting as it is, is also limited since the vexatious questions of Ukraine's internal political development during the revolutionary period are scarcely touched, and the whole work is cast in terms of a legalistic formalism which can claim to be history only through its use of chronology. Finally, the work is unnecessarily long, and the heart of it could have been presented in two substantial articles. The reader is led through the author's research notes in simple declarative sentences; this practice, which makes the work tedious, also lengthens it beyond what the argument requires. Markus has thoroughly documented one facet of the revolutionary period, but the line of development is so narrow that the reader finds himself wishing for more attention to the context which produced the phenomena described as well as an attempt to explain the reason why.

University of Missouri

R. E. McGREW

THE RED PHOENIX: RUSSIA SINCE WORLD WAR II. By *Harry Schwartz*. [Praeger Publications in Russian History and World Communism, Number 90.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1961. Pp. xii, 427. \$6.00.) This book is what its author aptly calls a "journalistic history" of Soviet Russia since the Second World War. It consists of some 150 articles originally published in the *New York Times*, on whose staff Schwartz serves as a Soviet specialist. The articles date back to the early 1950's and are arranged under several topical headings, including Soviet political developments, economic growth, scientific achievement, and foreign relations. Except for some editing, the articles are republished as they originally appeared and are prefaced, connected, and summarized by some new material written especially for this volume. Taken together, these daily capsules provide a fairly comprehensive survey of the major

developments in Russia primarily since Stalin's death in 1953, with half the space devoted to domestic matters and the remainder to foreign relations with the West and the Communist bloc of states. In as much as Schwartz is one of the best-informed and most astute contemporary observers of Soviet Russia, his reports and analyses are informative and often penetrating, and the current validity of some of his earlier judgments are testimony both to the continuity, as well as change, in the Soviet scene during the past decade and to Schwartz's keen understanding of it. Still, the book falls far short of the mark of a "history" of Russia's rise from the ashes of war, for it lacks the scope, synthesis, documentation, and perspective that a genuine historical account should contain. The book's telegraphic style, moreover, and the datedness of many questions the articles raise, which at the time of original publication were pertinent, leave the reader with the impression that he has thumbed through a sheaf of old newspaper clippings set aside for later reading. One would hope, therefore, that while this volume may appeal to a busy general reader, its author has compiled it in preparation for the more serious and systematic study of the Soviet Union since 1945, which is needed and for which he is eminently qualified.

*Colorado State University*

SIDNEY HEITMAN

#### NEAR EAST

THE MODERNIZATION OF IRAN, 1921-1941. By *Amin Banani*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 191. \$5.00.) The "Western Question" has inspired the author to write this book "as a guide for preliminary studies of Westernization in other Middle Eastern societies, or as an initial appraisal of the actual effects of modernization in contemporary Iran." To this end, attention is focused on the most striking period of Westernization in Iran, the reign of Riza Shah Pahlavi. The administrative, legal, educational, and economic programs of Riza Shah are reviewed in detail. But most interest will be aroused by the author's general statements, which are not systematically connected with the factual material of the book. Banani sees Westernization and nationalism in Iran as predominantly shaped by resentment of the West. He seems to regard this resentment as being justly sparked by Western interference in Iranian life. At the same time he asserts that the decay of Iran developed prior to European imperialism and from purely Iranian sources. There is an implicit question here that needs clarification. Is not awareness of this "moral degeneration" the source of "the deep sense of inferiority [and resentment] that the impact of the West created among the people of the Middle East," rather than European meddling, which in the 1890's and in the Pahlavi period was more imaginary than real? Furthermore, it seems likely that this resentment is the common source of the Moslem apologists, whom Banani deprecates, and of the "secularists," whom he stresses, for both "secularists" and "Islamists" attack a common enemy, the West. The subject merits much study, and this book is a useful beginning. For the first time we have a work on Riza Shah with extensive documentation from Persian sources. As an initial appraisal, the book is a substantial advance in knowledge. As a guide for further study, it has great potential.

*University of Illinois*

C. ERNEST DAWN

#### AFRICA

JOURNAL D'UN BOURGEOIS DU CAIRE: CHRONIQUE D'IBN IYÂS. Volume II. Translation and notes by *Gaston Wiet*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI<sup>e</sup> Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1960. Pp. viii, 579.) This volume, a continuation of Gaston Wiet's French translation of the "Arabic Chronicles of Egypt" by Ibn Iyâs, the famous Mameluke historian (1448-1524), covers a period from Feb-

ruary 5, 1516, to November 19, 1522, during which Mameluke Egypt experienced the loss of her independence through the Ottoman conquest. Ibn Iyâs' detailed account of these decisive six years in Islamic history offers an interesting and illuminating insight into the many legal, military, administrative, and social changes that took place as a consequence of the Ottoman victory. The patterns of Egypt's new political structure and the upheavals and unrest in Cairo and the provincial capitals in Syria are vividly described. He deals also with economic matters: trade and commerce, coins and weights, Egypt's relations with Venetian merchants, and the role of Jews in the Egyptian mint. Wiet based his translation on the Arabic text, as edited by P. Kahle and M. Mustafa in *Biblioteca Islamica* 5E (1932); the translation reflects his sound and profound scholarship. Many valuable notes and bibliographical references accompany the text. The general index of persons, places, officials and officers, and of some topics covering the previous two volumes of his translation (1945, 1955) add greatly to the usefulness of the work. With this volume, Wiet again offers an excellent guide to students of the Near East who are unable to consult the Arabic original, and they will be most grateful to the translator for his excellent accomplishment.

*University of California, Berkeley*

WALTER J. FISCHER

THE AGRICULTURAL POLICY OF MUḤAMMAD 'ALĪ IN EGYPT. By *Helen Anne B. Rivlin*. [Harvard Middle Eastern Studies, Number 4.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. xvii, 393. \$8.00.) Agricultural policy is indeed a suitable subject for detailed inquiry about a preponderantly agricultural country. This work, covering the first half of the nineteenth century and helpful to the specialist, is the outgrowth of a doctoral thesis at Oxford. The inquiry broadened into analyses of Egypt's land tenure, administrative practices, taxation, crop production, trade, industry, manpower resources, and irrigation. These subjects each receive a chapter, and, serving a double purpose, each can be considered a short study apart from the others. Mehemet Ali's fiscal program is the primary concern. The author offers new interpretations, based on material drawn from published and unpublished Western sources and selections from published Middle Eastern sources. The pasha exploited Egypt for his own and his family's benefit. Requiring a strong army, and hence much revenue, all agricultural procedures had to be improved. He reorganized landholding and collected taxes more efficiently, improved irrigation, and transformed much of Egypt's agriculture from mere subsistence to production of staples for export. If numbers and wealth increased for the great landholders (including Mehemet Ali and his bureaucrats), the position of the miserable fellahs remained essentially unchanged throughout his rule of forty-four years. These and the other segments of Mehemet Ali's policy, including the Westernization of agriculture, remind one of the similar projects much discussed by General Jacques "Abdallah" Menou, who had wished to hold Egypt as a French colony before the British forced him out of that country in 1801. Names and terms appear with spellings and markings strange to most readers in English, though more correct form for Egyptians of the last century. Turkish names and terms have been Arabicized. Whereas Cairo and Alexandria fortunately escape the phonetic transformation, the principal personage of the essay, for whose name there is no "normal" spelling in English or French, does not. I doubt that such transliterations, seemingly causing the author no end of trouble, will be worth their effort. The study itself, however, is what matters. Here Professor Rivlin is to be complimented for scholarship and industry that produced a useful reference work. The interrelated role of politics in the shaping of economic policy can be seen. Valuable tables and factual appendixes have been painstakingly put together.

*University of California, Davis*

VERNON J. PURYEAR



LE MAROC ET L'EUROPE (1830-1894). Volume I, SOURCES-BIBLIOGRAPHIE. By *Jean Louis Miège*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1961. Pp. 234. 15 new fr.) The first part of this useful bibliography calls attention to sources. For the first thirty-seven pages, manuscripts are listed under a threefold division (Moroccan, French, and foreign repositories), calling the scholar's attention to abundant and relatively unexplored materials, particularly consular reports and ministerial correspondence. Printed sources include consular and diplomatic documents plus *journaux officiels*, parliamentary documents, treaties, newspapers, and yearbooks. A final section in Part I is devoted to cartographic sources. The bulk of the volume, an alphabetical listing of authors' names, leads the investigator to printed books and articles. No effort has been made to be all inclusive, yet a large number of works in European languages, mostly French, provide a starting point for the investigator. The book lacks a table of contents, an introductory statement explaining its scheme, and an index.

*Northwestern University*

RICHARD M. BRACE

THE FALL OF KRUGER'S REPUBLIC. By *J. S. Marais*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 345. \$5.60.) During the last few years there has been a flood of reappraisals on the background of the Boer War. In 1949 the British Public Record Office opened official documents to the end of the nineteenth century, and subsequently scholars have had access to the papers of Joseph Chamberlain. Professor Marais, a distinguished South African historian, has used these documents and recent publications to attempt a new synthesis on the causes of the war. His purpose, he states, is "to explain how the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand led to war between Britain and the Boer republics." This assertion might seem to imply that the war was foreordained, but the author is at pains to dissassociate himself from such determinism. Nor does he assign primary responsibility to the mining magnates. Though the capitalists took the initiative in the Jameson Raid, control between 1896 and 1899 passed to the politicians; the great men of the Rand were now men under orders, relying on the superior political wisdom of the professional statesmen. Marais considers the advent of Chamberlain in 1895 the turning point in Anglo-Boer relations. By that time it had become clear that the gold fields would be a source of enormous wealth for a long time, and the assertion of British influence over all of southern Africa became urgent. The author gives full weight to Chamberlain's energetic advocacy of paramountcy, but the villain of the piece is Sir Alfred Milner, governor of the Cape and high commissioner in southern Africa. At times the book reads like a prosecutor's brief against the imperial factor; there is no doubt that the author's sympathies lie with the Boer republics. But he buttresses his case with compelling evidence. The book provides no startling disclosures, but contains much new information on the events immediately preceding the war. Marais takes issue with certain standard authorities, in particular Professor Eric Walker, whose alleged misinterpretations are the subject of a special addendum.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

JOHN S. GALBRAITH

THE POLITICAL KINGDOM IN UGANDA: A STUDY IN BUREAUCRATIC NATIONALISM. By *David E. Apter*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xvi, 498. \$10.00.) The title of Professor David Apter's latest book is deceptive in ways that do it less than justice in the eyes of the historian. It is not about *the* political kingdom in Uganda, but *a* political kingdom, the kingdom of Buganda. The rest of the Uganda Protectorate is mentioned only as it affected the movement of Ganda history during the past sixty years. The choice of this narrower scope is appropriate to the nature of Uganda history, since the history of the Ganda has been a separate entity even in this century, and it would take equivalent volumes to do justice to the history

of other Uganda peoples. The subtitle, *A Study in Bureaucratic Nationalism*, carries on the deception by implying a narrow concern with political analysis of the very recent period. In fact, Apter's work is much broader and much more historical than this. Nearly half of it is devoted to the period before 1945 and the rise of nationalist politics. It is, in large part, a long and interesting historical essay on the political history of Buganda since 1900, written without the jargon that marred some of the author's earlier work and rewritten with the style and emphasis we would expect of a good historical essayist. There is no attempt to "cover" all of Ganda political history or to return at every point to original sources, but these are the prerogatives of the essayist. In addition to this background essay, there are two major contributions centered on the postwar period. One is a more detailed account of the political narrative over the past decade and a half. In some respects this is more than a mere work of secondary historical writing. The author's field work in Uganda was carried out in 1955-1956, immediately after the return of the Kabaka and the crisis of Sir Andrew Cohen's administration. Based on interviewing of participants while the events were still fresh, it is political reporting of very high quality. As such it is certain to become a primary source for future historians of this period. The social scientists also have their due in the form of an introductory chapter on the theoretical framework and a long concluding chapter on the theoretical conclusions that emerge from the study. The lay reviewer is hardly entitled to comment on this section, except to note that it too is historical in scope, taking account of the nineteenth-century changes in Ganda society and of their continuing importance up to the present.

University of Wisconsin

PHILIP D. CURTIN

POLITICAL CHANGE IN MOROCCO. By Douglas E. Ashford. [Princeton Oriental Studies, Social Sciences, Number 3.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 432. \$8.50.) *Political Change in Morocco* is considered by the author to be in the nature of "a case study" of the political developments in Morocco during the first four years of its independence from 1955 to 1959. It has both the advantages and disadvantages of the "case study" method. It supplies a mass of detail difficult to obtain elsewhere, while demanding from the reader a thorough knowledge of Moroccan history since 1912. Ashford writes as a political scientist for political scientists. He thinks of his book as a study to assist others in formulating a "systematic theory" with which to examine "concrete problems" of new nations. He classifies "political relationships as being predominantly charismatic, coercive, institutional, or traditional"! Ashford notes that the French occupation prepared the way for the development of Moroccan nationalism, the organization of political parties, and the rise to Pan-Islamic and Pan-Arabic movements. These led to closer contacts with similar groupings in other Arab-speaking Moslem countries. The author's comments on these matters are of special interest to those concerned with Near Eastern affairs. Following an introductory chapter on the "Setting of the Study," Ashford presents in two chapters the evolution of Moroccan nationalism and the emergence of political parties. In considerable detail he deals with the role of the Istiqlal party in the struggle for independence. These chapters would be more understandable to nonspecialists in the narrow field of Moroccan political studies if they had been preceded by a brief and clear account of Moroccan history since 1911. The balance of the book is devoted to a study of the political institutions and problems of Morocco since the achievement of its independence. The difficulties encountered in deciding upon the type of government and of creating an effective administrative structure are competently dealt with. Ashford's observations concerning the impact of increasing modernization upon labor, the peasantry, and the tribes and his comments on the merging of the industrialists and the merchants into a new bourgeoisie will



interest the reader. This study of Morocco with its Moslem Arab and Berber background and its overlay of French culture is of special interest to those following the historical processes taking place in Africa and Asia where modern societies are emerging from the trammels of the past.

*Boston University*

WILLIAM YALE

#### ASIA AND THE EAST

LES PHILIPPINES ET LE PACIFIQUE DES IBÉRIQUES (XVI<sup>e</sup>, XVII<sup>e</sup>, XVIII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLES): INTRODUCTION MÉTHODOLOGIQUE ET INDICES D'ACTIVITÉ. By *Pierre Chaunu*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI<sup>e</sup> Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Ports, routes, trafics, Number 11.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1960. Pp. 301.) This is an inseparable part of the author's exhaustive seven volumes on the Spanish Atlantic economy, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, and his forthcoming supplement, *Cádiz et l'Atlantique* covering the eighteenth century. Based on a careful analysis of the Contaduria records in the Archivo General de Indias, the core of this monograph consists of some sixteen indexes of economic activity. Among the more useful of these compilations are the following: the population of the archipelago, inflow and outflow of the treasures of Manila and Acapulco, taxes collected from the Chinese community, the *Almojarifazgo* taxes, annual subsidies provided by the treasury of Mexico, and numbers of ships entering and leaving the ports of Manila and Acapulco. This statistical information is an invaluable contribution to both Philippine historiography and economic history of a more global variety. Clearly the latter is what concerns Chaunu. His outstanding conclusion is sound and exciting. There is, he finds, a basic conformity and dynamic interrelation between the economies of the Spanish Atlantic and the Spanish Pacific. In both areas the period down to about 1620 was characterized by growth and expansion, from 1620 to about 1640 by the absence of growth but the maintenance of a high plateau of activity, and then from 1640 to about 1690 a precipitous decline and stagnation. In the eighteenth century the curve of activity moved steadily upward with the exception of a modest decline in the mid-century. The author himself recognizes that this monograph needs to be supplemented by a series of studies covering other areas of the Orient. For the student of the Philippines this study contains enlightening data for a wide variety of topics such as the missionary enterprise, trade with China and India, the internal development of the islands, and the cost of the archipelago to the Spanish Empire.

*University of Wisconsin*

JOHN L. PHELAN

FORT WILLIAM-INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY PAPERS RELATING THERETO. Public Series, Volume IX, 1782-5. Edited by *B. A. Saletore*. [Indian Records Series.] (Delhi: Manager of Publications, Government of India, for the National Archives of India. 1959. Pp. xiv, xlv, 708. Rs. 20.50.) With this work, the publication of this important series proceeds a stage further. Volume IX joins Volumes I and XIII as the third to appear within a year. The public dispatches both outward and homeward give the most varied picture of the East India Company's activities. Famine relief, the Oriental scholarship of Gladwin, Champion, Forster, Davy, and Kirkpatrick, the geographic work of Rennell, Forrest, and Ritchie, and relations with "country-powers," army affairs, and commercial policy are mentioned. Some of the dispatches, especially the letter from Bengal of August 23, 1784, are especially illuminating as to the company's finances in these last years of Warren Hastings' governor-generalship. The volume contains more illustrations than its predecessors. For the most part the editing is carefully done. The influence of Philip Francis' quarrel with Warren Hastings on several matters, such as the "Patna Cause," however,

is not well understood. There is no indication that a duplicate copy in London was sought to supply the missing portions of the manuscript printed on pages 476 and 477, which as it stands is unintelligible.

University of Pennsylvania

HOLDEN FURBER

NINETEENTH-CENTURY MALAYA: THE ORIGINS OF BRITISH POLITICAL CONTROL. By *C. D. Cowan*. [School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. London Oriental Series, Volume XI.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. 286. \$5.60.) For years Colonial Office reports on Malaya have explained the extension of British rule to the Malay States in the 1870's. After more than a half century of governing the adjacent Straits Settlements, British authorities could not stand idly by while the investments of British subjects (chiefly in tin mining) were endangered by deteriorating political conditions and the Settlements themselves were perhaps menaced by the machinations of other powers. Most historians have emphasized the political instability of the States; almost no one has given serious attention to the threat of rival imperialisms. Cowan does just that. He has examined not only the Colonial Office records but those of the Foreign Office and the India Office as well. The Colonial Office documents suggest that British action was provoked by fears for the security of the Settlements and for continued control of the Straits. Surely something more than a desire for profits is necessary to explain the seemingly abrupt change of policy between the late 1860's and 1873 and the fact that the forward movement was actually initiated by a Liberal government. For a few pages at least, the suspicion grows that some hitherto unknown great but fruitless power play by Germany or France is about to be revealed. The reader begins to think that perhaps mining investments were only incidental. One is somewhat disappointed, therefore, when Cowan declares that he could find no evidence that any foreign power intended to extend its control or influence over the States. British intervention seems, after all, to have been largely a matter of economics. This explanation, already well documented in other works, finds new support with Cowan's enumeration of commercial developments in Malaya and Southeast Asia in the late 1860's. His own researches notwithstanding, the author expresses his belief that strategic motives were more important than economic ones. Nor would he overlook the roles played by individuals. He can only conclude that the causes of British intervention were complex, public and private factors combining with personal ambitions and even individual idiosyncrasies. Cowan is not really trying to avoid drawing conclusions or to force his conclusions on unwilling facts. The merchants and officials in the Straits Settlements wanted intervention largely on economic grounds. The Colonial Office, especially under a Liberal government, was unmoved by such considerations. But the mere suggestion of a foreign threat—and such a suggestion had been made by a British tin investor—was a cause of genuine concern. An aggressive new governor and the demise of Gladstone's government in 1874 helped matters along. Another recent work on the same subject, C. N. Parkinson's *British Intervention in Malaya, 1867-1877* (1960), is the better piece of writing, is generally fuller and more discursive, and is perhaps the better history. Nevertheless, Cowan's work is well written, to the point, and a good example of first-rate historical scholarship. The two books are complementary, and both make useful contributions.

Northern Illinois University

J. NORMAN PARMER

THE CHINESE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT. By *Robert A. Scalapino* and *George T. Yu*. [Research Series.] (Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies, Institute of International Studies, University of California. 1961. Pp. v, 81. \$1.00.) This is an illuminating account of Chinese anarchism from its inception in 1905 until its destruction a

decade later under the impact of Marxism-Leninism. The authors demonstrate that although in many respects antithetical to Communism, the anarchist movement also introduced into China ideas destined to become an important part of Mao Tse-tung's ideology. Among these was the notion that study should be combined with productive labor. In addition, the book raises questions with respect to the influence of anarchism on conservative leaders, questions that merit further attention by scholars interested in the history of Chinese thought.

Duke University

DONALD G. GILLIN

AUSTRALIA IN THE WAR OF 1939-1945. Series One (Army). Volume VI, THE NEW GUINEA OFFENSIVES. By *David Dexter*. (Canberra: Australian War Memorial; Sydney: Angus and Robertson. 1961. Pp. xx, 851. 40s.) This sixth of seven volumes in the official Australian history of World War II dealing with army operations, and the third on the war against Japan, covers approximately the same period as the official US Army volume *The Reduction of Rabaul* by John Miller, Jr., and Samuel Eliot Morison's *Breaking the Bismarck Barrier*. It picks up the story of Australian ground forces in New Guinea in April 1943, after the Allies had recaptured Buna and Guadalcanal, and carries it forward to mid-1944 with the Japanese Eighteenth Army in full retreat across the Sepik River near the Dutch New Guinea border. The theme of the volume is one of triumph, of a succession of victories that took the Australians from the mountains overlooking Salamaua up the coast almost as far as Wewak, cleared most of Australian New Guinea of the Japanese, and paved the way for invasion of the Philippines. The sixteen months of combat described in this volume include some of the toughest fighting of the war, the amphibious operations against the coastal towns of Lae and Salamaua, seizure of the Huon Peninsula, and conquest of the Ramu Valley. The difficulty was only partly of the enemy's making; to a large extent it was the fault of the terrain, for New Guinea is one of the most forbidding and unhealthy areas of the world. Australian forces involved in these operations consisted of 4 divisions, and total casualties (dead and wounded) numbered about 3,000 as compared to an estimated 35,000 dead on the Japanese side. Like the preceding volumes in the series, *The New Guinea Offensives* is focused on the action of front line troops, on "operations along a gloomy jungle track, or a rain-drenched razor-back, or in the stifling kunai." This was not a war of large units massed along extended fronts as in Europe, or of great armored thrusts; geography and terrain did not permit such operations. Instead it was a war of small units and individuals, an infantryman's war. There is little in this volume on the deliberations of higher headquarters and of army corps and division staffs, or of the contribution of air, artillery, engineers, communications, and the supply and service elements. It deals with squads, platoons, and companies, with patrol actions, scouting missions, and limited attacks. For those interested in the larger issues of the war in the Southwest Pacific, this volume has little to offer; for a realistic and detailed chronicle of the fighting in New Guinea, it is excellent.

Dartmouth College

LOUIS MORTON

INDIA 1947-50. Volume I, INTERNAL AFFAIRS; Volume II, EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. Edited by *S. L. Poplai*. [Select Documents on Asian Affairs. Issued under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. lii, 672; xx, 699. \$13.25 the set.) The 338 documents edited by Sudar Lal Poplai and presented in these two volumes will be most useful to the teacher of modern Indian affairs; they will be less useful to most research scholars; and they will be least useful, perhaps, to the Asian historian. The documents cover the most serious problems facing India from the grant of independence to the establishment of the republic in

1950. Among the domestic problems are partition of the subcontinent, framing the Constitution of the republic of India, integration of the 550 princely Indian states with special attention to the states of Kashmir, Hyderabad, and Junagadh, programs of the dominant political parties, and the economic policies of the new nation. In the field of foreign affairs the principal problems for which documents are provided are definition of an "independent" Indian foreign policy by Jawaharlal Nehru, relations with the Commonwealth, Burma, and Pakistan, and the United Nations with specific reference to the Kashmir and South African issues. The documents are skillfully edited and well presented, and the index in each volume is useful. Inevitably in a collection of documents bearing upon such critical problems, many of which are still controversial, there will be criticism of the selection. On objective scholarly grounds, the selection is open to the criticism that certain of the sections of the volumes (for example, the Kashmir issue) read more like an Indian government White Paper, justifying a point of view, than a presentation of evidence to illuminate a problem. Again, on scholarly grounds, the source of some of the documents is not clear, which limits the research usefulness of the volumes. On the whole, however, neither the selection bias nor the inadequacy of some source notations seriously diminishes the general usefulness of the collections. Each volume contains an introduction meant to provide a background and context for the selected documents. Here are perhaps the most serious shortcomings of the volumes. The introduction to Volume I has a bellicosely anti-Moslem League tone which alarms the historian. Granted that an introduction for this volume is necessary, for the documents are relatively few and the problems disparate, this introduction could have been somewhat longer and certainly more objective and analytical in tone. One is struck by the more excited quality of the introduction than the words of the persons living the event. The introduction to Volume II is too brief and too concerned with justifying the Indian position of nonalignment to be of value. On too many issues the documents are chosen to reflect a narrow, even polemical view rather than a broad statement of the complexity and historically relevant aspects of the issue as seen between 1947 and 1950.

*University of Minnesota*

BURTON STEIN

SOUTH TO THE NAKTONG, NORTH TO THE YALU (JUNE-NOVEMBER 1950). By Roy E. Appleman. [U. S. Army in the Korean War.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1961. Pp. xxiv, 813. \$10.00.) This volume, by Lieutenant Colonel Roy E. Appleman of the National Park Service, is the first appearing in a projected series of United States Army official histories of the Korean War under the general editorship of Stetson Conn. Based upon nine years of dedicated research and literally thousands of interviews with participants, this essentially tactical history of the Korean War covers the period up to November 1945. Certain of the limitations perhaps inherent in tactical history appear in Appleman's omission of a full explanation for the inadequacies of South Korean equipment, since the causes for these inadequacies are usually of nontactical origin. A similar criticism can be made of Appleman's often brutally frank appraisal of the condition and conduct of the United States Eighth Army in the opening stages of the war. Among the many myths Appleman punctures is that of the North Korean superiority in numbers. After the first month of conflict the United Nations and South Korean forces were equal to the enemy in personnel; by the eve of the Inchon counteroffensive, US tanks in the Pusan perimeter outnumbered the enemy's by at least five to one. Appleman also well delineates the origin and consequences of the logistic disputes between the Eighth Army and X Corps, if his vivid descriptions of Generals Walton H. Walker and Edward M. Almond tend to skate over these officers' personality conflicts

with each other and with their subordinates. Appleman is candid regarding General MacArthur's overoptimism and his undue reliance upon the air force. The author's recital of the Eighth Army's equally excessive optimism as it approached the Yalu in the fall of 1950 is skillfully counterpointed with the painful facts regarding the army's ever-diminishing logistic base. Within its chosen realm of tactics, Appleman's volume constitutes a superb realization of the ideal of capturing naked battlefield truths before they can don their uniforms.

*Institute for Defense Analyses*

TRUMBULL HIGGINS

#### AMERICAS

THE ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY: A STUDY IN POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY. By *William R. Willoughby*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 381. \$6.00.) The concept underlying the St. Lawrence Seaway is one of the oldest and simplest in North American history, but the account of its translation into reality, patiently traced in this definitive volume, comprises a tortuous annal. Though the idea of the seaway arose from the apparently obvious geographic fact that the inhabitants of much of interior North America might conduct their trade via the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes, the story of its development reveals difficulty and conflict. Always competing with the Hudson-Mohawk and Mississippi systems, the seaway became the victim of constant tugging and hauling between interests which sought to promote or prevent improvements to equip it for ever-larger vessels and cargoes. Rival nationalism in Canada and the United States and the parochial jealousies of state and provincial rights impeded essential cooperation. Railroad, canal, and port authorities bitterly opposed the development, and the advocates of public and private power intruded their perennial strife. This jumble of conflict leads the reader to wonder how the waterway became a fact. In truth, progress was painfully slow. A nine-foot channel was opened in 1849, minor improvements continued, and Canada and the United States signed the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Deep Waterway Treaty in 1932. The Senate rejected this agreement, but increasing needs for power and cheap transportation and the opening of the Quebec-Labrador iron fields won converts for the project. In 1954 the Eisenhower administration pushed through the Wiley-Dondero measure. Willoughby concludes with a description of the construction and early operation of the seaway. The product of thorough research, this volume gives a most comprehensive account of the struggle for the seaway. One criticism should be noted. Repeated and detailed descriptions of the same conflicting interests plodding through the same tired arguments for and against the seaway are repetitious and somewhat confusing. This is much more the fault of the subject than of the author, but judicious condensation would relieve the tedium without the loss of vital information. Students of Canadian-American relations must be grateful to Willoughby for his scholarly and definitive treatment of a major theme in their area of interest.

*Wisconsin State College, Eau Claire*

DONALD F. WARNER

THE RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION. By *Glenn Abernathy*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1961. Pp. vi, 263. \$6.25.) The First Amendment to the United States Constitution provides, among other things, that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging . . . the right of the peoples peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." This First Amendment's guarantee of the "right of assembly," the United States Supreme Court held in 1937 (*De Jonge vs. Oregon*), applies not only against abridgment by Congress, but applies also, through the "due process" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, against abridg-



ment by the state governments. In addition, "virtually all of the state constitutions" guarantee the right of peaceful assembly. This "right of assembly" forms the subject for the first two-thirds of Abernathy's monograph. Abernathy considers the historical origins and development and the current status of the "right of assembly" in the United States, employing as his source material the decisions of federal and state courts. His emphases are suggested in the chapter titles: "Unlawful Assembly," "Assemblies in the Public Streets," "Street Parades and Processions," "Assemblies in the Public Parks," and "Federal Protection of the Right of Assembly." As described by Abernathy, the most important major development in recent years concerning the "right of assembly" is noted in the latter portion of the title of his volume and is described in the last one-third of the volume—the tendency for justices of the United States Supreme Court to enlarge the constitutionally guaranteed "right of assembly" by incorporating into it a "right of association." Abernathy found this development in a series of court decisions beginning in 1952 (*Wieman vs. Updegraff*), and he cites, as the broadest statement on the subject yet to appear in a judicial decision, the words of a concurring opinion by Justice Black in a recent case (*Bates vs. Little Rock*; 1960): "Freedom of assembly includes of course freedom of association; and it is entitled to no less protection than any other First Amendment right." Some idea of the potential significance of this development can be gained from the fact that, in decisions handed down since 1952, Supreme Court justices have found the "right of assembly-association" relevant to a consideration of cases involving loyalty oaths for state employees, the investigation by a state attorney general of a professor's political affiliations, and an order by a state court in Alabama requiring the NAACP to produce its list of members. *The Right of Assembly and Association* is not scintillating, nor is it profound in its probing of philosophical issues lying behind court decisions; its virtue, instead, is that it provides a clear, substantial, carefully documented, and decidedly useful discussion of an important subject.

*University of Washington*

THOMAS J. PRESSLY

THE FIRST SOUTH. By John Richard Alden. [The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 144. \$3.50.) The thesis of this interesting and provocative book is that the First South emerged as a unit in opposition to the First North during the years 1775–1789 and that many historians have erred in believing that southern sectionalism first manifested itself about 1820. This thesis is supported in a most convincing manner with a score or more of illustrations of sectional divergences and disputes. Alden's first chapter deals with the basic reasons why the First South, as well as the Old South in later years, had interests and views running counter to those of the rest of the Union: climate, specialized farming, Negro slavery, and what has been called the "Southern way of life." Most of the sectional controversies discussed occurred in the Continental Congress, the Federal Convention, the state legislatures, and in the ratifying conventions of 1788–1789. The first sectional dispute arose over the use of Negro soldiers during the Revolution, but the most bitter and prolonged controversy had to do with the nature and powers of the central government. Peculiarly sharp were the debates over distribution of the cost of the central government. Many southern delegates feared "Northern tyranny," and as early as 1778 South Carolina proposed an amendment to the Articles to require that all major measures of the Congress be approved by the votes of eleven states. This amendment failed, but it is significant "as a shadow of things to come." In the Federal Convention southern, and northern, sectionalism manifested itself on many occasions, and even Madison wanted to be "sure that the South would not suffer seriously by helping to create a stronger union." Many southerners believed that the Constitution did not offer sufficient protection against north-



ern domination. For this reason, the struggle over ratification was sharper in the South than elsewhere. Among other sectional differences tending to unite the South long before the issue of slavery split the country were regulation of trade, taxation, location of the capital, the treaty-making power of Congress, the question of counting Negroes in the apportionment of representation in Congress, the opening of the Mississippi River, and the admission of new states. Alden feels that Washington's role in allaying sectionalism has not received due emphasis, that too much has been said about the weaknesses and failures of the Confederation, and that too little has been written about southern opposition to the Constitution on sectional grounds.

*University of North Carolina*

HUGH T. LEFLER

ROMANCE AND REALISM IN SOUTHERN POLITICS. By *T. Harry Williams*. [Eugenia Dorothy Blount Lamar Memorial Lectures, 1960.] (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 84. \$2.50.) The search for a unity in southern society that differentiates it from northern society has long been a quest of students of southern history. T. Harry Williams has offered a new and provocative thesis: that southerners have had the distinctive quality of being romantic in their thinking on politics, a quality that has led to disastrous results. He cites the influence of the legends of the Old South and of the Lost Cause (yet the North has had an important role also in romanticizing the society of the Old South). Some students of the Old South, notably Sydnor, whom Williams follows, have created a new legend that the southern people before 1860 thought that they enjoyed a perfect civilization. This error arises from taking the writings of propagandists Dew, Hammond, and Fitzhugh as the authentic voice of their section instead of the voice of a minority in the black belt. Williams begins his study with a definition of southern romantic thinking as a capacity to create flattering mind pictures of its society, but as he develops his theme he comes very close to saying that it is mainly noneconomic thinking. It was not only in the realm of creating legends of itself that the South demonstrated its capacity for romantic thinking but also in political issues. It has let racism divert it from realizing the practical ends of a good society. Williams' thesis is used largely to explain political phenomena after the Civil War—the Reconstruction period, the Populist and progressive movements, and the politics of the Longs of Louisiana. He illustrates his thesis with convincing evidence, particularly the Louisiana Unification Movement of 1873, the action of the scalawags, the program of the Populists, and the concentration of the Longs upon practical social reforms. All of these were "realistic" movements in that they largely ignored the emotional imperatives of race. But, with the exception of the efforts of the Longs, they all failed because the white masses were more devoted to the romantic cause of sustaining white supremacy than to realistic politics. Williams has written a fresh, highly intelligent, and absorbing study of southern political thought, although I think that his definition of romanticism is too narrow.

*University of Kentucky*

CLEMENT EATON

THE MIDWEST: MYTH OR REALITY? A SYMPOSIUM. By *Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., et al.* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 96. \$3.50.) Seven participants in a symposium held at the University of Notre Dame give their answers to several criticisms of the contemporary Midwest. Russel B. Nye says firmly that in politics the region has not ceased to protest. He finds the protest basically pragmatic and progressive. Senator Gale W. McGee sees isolationists' heads still popping up and issues a challenge "to awaken to the forces of change now sweeping the world." Is midwestern industry merely tributary to the East? Jay W. Wiley evaluates evidence, finds none of it good, and suggests that midwestern complaints have been

"very much like the complaints of the less developed countries . . . today." Is the cause of the midwestern farmer lost? Quoting a farmer in the AAA period, "I would rather be regimented than foreclosed," Donald R. Murphy concludes, "That may still be the answer." The midwestern mind is, in the words of Thomas T. McAvoy, "the mind of those who intend to stay in the Midwest and make it their home," and it includes more than mere enjoyment of the riches of their homeland: it is part of the soul and yearns for things of the spirit. John T. Flanagan discovers the reality of midwestern literature in a hard core of writing from Mark Twain to James Farrell that is honest, direct, vigorous, and sometimes crude. In summation John T. Frederick sees the Midwest as a youthful giant which "may in sober truth be the last best hope of earth." Much of the volume seems to be a defense of the Midwest against criticisms from the liberal left. Apologetically trying to provide "as much of value for the businessman as for the historian," it reflects some confusion; yet the essays are informative, polished, and graceful.

*Ohio University*

HARRY R. STEVENS

MARK CATESBY: THE COLONIAL AUDUBON. By *George Frederick Frick* and *Raymond Phineas Stearns*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1961. Pp. x, 137. \$5.00.) Mark Catesby, FRS, was an Englishman (born in 1683) who lived for several years in Virginia, collected the productions of nature in South Carolina and the Bahamas from 1722 to 1726, and who devoted the last twenty years of his life to delineating and describing his American collections. George Frick and Raymond Stearns have contributed to the difficult and transatlantic art of colonial biography at the same time that they have added to the thin list of historical studies of American naturalists. Too often is the exploration of the natural history of the globe—one of the great adventures of the mind and spirit of Western man over the last four centuries—dismissed by historians as "mere" collecting. The authors here realize the complex network of ideas and institutions which must combine for the scientific classification of plants and animals. Since the scene of Catesby's collecting was in America, he can rightly be called colonial. Because his interest in characteristic eighteenth-century fashion embraced botany, ornithology, geology, anthropology, and zoology, he showed the strengths and weaknesses of the naturalists of his day—comprehensive range at the expense of the thoroughness of the expert. He contributed not only as a collector but as a student of collections as well, his active life spanning the years from John Ray to Linnaeus. While the reference in the subtitle to the colonial Audubon does not quite do justice to all Catesby's accomplishments, it does indicate the importance of the *Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands* in the development of the art of drawing birds. Without benefit of Catesby's own papers, Frick and Stearns have methodically and painstakingly reconstructed the outline of Catesby's life, his place in each scientific discipline he touched, and his relations with the scientists and patrons of his day, the renowned natural history circle. Specialists in several sciences and historians of the English-speaking world of the eighteenth century should find much that is useful in this scholarly and well-illustrated work.

*University of California, Berkeley*

A. HUNTER DUPREE

THE JOURNAL OF THE COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, JANUARY 19, 1748–JUNE 29, 1748. Edited by *J. H. Easterby*. *Ruth S. Green*, Assistant Editor. [The Colonial Records of South Carolina.] (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1961. Pp. xiii, 457. \$11.00.) The eighth volume of this series is the fruit of the last editorial work of the late Dr. Easterby. The scope and high quality of this series is too well known to scholars to require repetition of previous reviews. This volume covers

a happy time for the colony, one of tranquillity except for minor Indian forays and some depredations by French and Spanish privateers. Crops were good, prices high; planting often crowded out attendance upon the House which devoted itself during this period to the local affairs of a land at peace.

*Richmond, Virginia*

DAVID J. MAYS

POLITICAL SATIRE IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1763-1783. By *Bruce Ingham Granger*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 314. \$5.00.) Political satire is one of the most ephemeral of literary forms—if indeed, it can be dignified by the term literature. It is akin to campaign oratory in its capacity to bore the reader in a later generation, even the reader in search of some chance fact or side light that will illuminate historical interpretation. Having grubbed through the mass of satirical writing that poured from the press between 1763 and 1783, Granger deserves some sort of award for endurance. He has produced a well-documented dissertation that mentions, with some description and discussion, about half the things he found. These include all types of writings that attempted to ridicule one faction or another or individuals in the public eye. There were Hudibrastic lampoons, doggerel verse so bad that the most ignorant printer must have cringed when he set the type, letters to the editor signed "Publicus" or "Agricola" or some other fancy name, burlesques, travesties, and skits of all kinds. Now and then some writer rose above the ruck of cheap writing and composed a piece in passable prose or verse. Granger gives Benjamin Franklin high praise, and the writings of the Connecticut Wits deserve some commendation, but few writers equaled Franklin, Barlow, Hopkins, or Humphreys. Granger's book would have served a more useful purpose for historians if he had simply made an orderly chronological list of this satirical stuff with a brief descriptive commentary. But since he was writing a dissertation in literature, he had the necessity or compulsion of trying to derive some philosophic and critical conclusions about each piece. The result is a book too cumbersome and involved for ready reference, especially since the index is woefully inadequate.

*Folger Library*

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

BROADSIDES AND BAYONETS: THE PROPAGANDA WAR OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Carl Berger*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1961. Pp. 256. \$5.00.) This is the record of public propaganda efforts made during the American Revolution by both British and American leaders to win support from such groups as Canadians, Indians, Hessians, and Europeans. By public effort is meant the efforts of such public officials and agencies as Congress, state legislatures, military leaders, and foreign agents. The book deals primarily with official documents, manifestoes, pronouncements, and proclamations addressed to various groups rather than with the informal propaganda carried on by individual initiative through newspapers, pamphlets, broadsides, plays, parades, and effigies. It is, therefore, less colorful and interesting, but it has the distinct merit of bringing together, as no other treatment does, the public documents involved in this propaganda effort. The first American efforts were directed to winning the allegiance of the Canadians while the British efforts tried to hold it. American propaganda at first clumsily used an anti-Catholic appeal to a country filled with French Catholics. This was soon corrected, and some headway was being made when Montgomery was killed at Quebec in the campaign of 1775-1776 and all hope of winning Canada ended. Propaganda efforts were continued, but, unsupported by military achievements, they had no hope of success. It was the British who were aggressively trying to win Indian and Negro support, but it was apparent that these efforts further alienated the colonists and embittered the conflict. The most successful Ameri-

can propaganda effort was directed to winning over the Hessians. Appeals were made to them to defect, and perhaps twelve thousand of the thirty thousand who served in America did. The author believes that propaganda during the war was more important in the eventual success of the Revolution than was that of the prerevolutionary period, for while prerevolutionary propaganda made the break with England possible, it was the successful conclusion of the war and not the Declaration of Independence that really separated the colonies from Great Britain. In his concluding chapter he points out that the Declaration of Independence is itself a major piece of propaganda and that, at the time, the portions of the document that attacked the King were far more important in inflaming the minds of the people than were those beautiful opening phrases that mean so much today. During the war the greatest single propaganda asset America had was George Washington, not Congress and not so much the cause of independence. Throughout the book the theme is constantly and correctly stressed that the American leaders were fully aware of the power of words and were skilled in their use.

*University of Louisville*

PHILIP DAVIDSON

THE LEGAL FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN PHILANTHROPY, 1776-1844. By *Howard S. Miller*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1961. Pp. xiii, 71. \$3.00.) Whether the springs of benevolence flow freely or sparsely depends in part on the attitude courts and legislatures take toward philanthropic bequests. This volume traces the evolution of American public policy toward charitable trusts from Independence to the Girard will case. The author elaborates points made in Irvin Wyllie's study of the problem (*MVHR*, XLVI [Sept. 1959], 203-21). Mr. Miller does not examine the influence on legal developments of efforts made in the 1820's and 1830's to reform charity and poor relief. In other respects the book provides a comprehensive and meaningful account of factors that helped shape American charity law.

*Ohio State University*

ROBERT H. BREMNER

TO THE FAREWELL ADDRESS: IDEAS OF EARLY AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. By *Felix Gilbert*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 173. \$3.75.) Professor Gilbert's short book is in part based on earlier articles, and is in part new. It represents an important contribution to that fusion of intellectual and diplomatic history which has been too little attempted and which is highly desirable. The theme is that in its genesis American foreign policy was composed of many strands. The reaction from involvement in Europe, based on the conception of an American utopia far removed from the wickedness of the Old World, is important. The dislike of power politics, indeed the inability to think in such terms, was also a part of American thinking. United to this was a tendency to idealize the commercial relationships which, whatever might be the course of politics, were indispensable to the growth of the United States. The belief in the beneficence of trade, the disposition to contrast it with the vulgar struggle of armed forces, was strong among Americans, as it was also among the physiocrats in France. In developing this theme, Gilbert has many interesting things to say. He points out with what reluctance the rebelling colonies came to any commitment of a political kind in their relations with France, and how, at the outset, they counted too confidently on the opening of their trade as an adequate price for French assistance. He indicates, also, that in the thinking of the age the word alliance carried different connotations than it does today and did not imply far-reaching commitments in the field of power. He sees the American sense of the value of commerce and of the rule of law in the American view of neutral rights and in the model treaties with other nations. Yet there were Americans who thought in different terms. Though arriving at the principle of nonentanglement like the utopians, Alexander

Hamilton found very different reasons for accepting it. Basing his views on power in international affairs, he believed that the Americas constituted a power system of their own. In a final chapter the author traces Hamilton's role in the drafting of the Farewell Address, particularly in the field of foreign policy.

*Rochester, New York*

DEXTER PERKINS

GEORGE MASON: RELUCTANT STATESMAN. By *Robert Allen Rutland*. Foreword by *Dumas Malone*. [Williamsburg in America Series, Number 4.] (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg; distrib. by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York. 1961. Pp. xvi, 123. \$3.50.) Professor Rutland's biography of George Mason is a brief one, intended for popular consumption. As such, it is a superior product, attractively printed. An attempt is made to bring Mason to life, on the whole successfully, although the author's guesses about Mason's thoughts and feelings, inserted to give the reader a sense of reality, grate as usual upon the professional scholar. Heavy emphasis is placed upon Mason as the framer of the Virginia Bill of Rights, and little is said about him as a land speculator and Antifederalist. Some doubtful statements and a few errors were noted. Need for a new and thorough study of Mason remains.

*Duke University*

JOHN R. ALDEN

JAMES MONROE: PUBLIC CLAIMANT. By *Lucius Wilmerding, Jr.* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 144. \$4.00.) The singular luck of James Monroe in politics carried over to only one phase of his private finance. This was the nurture and padding of old and nebulous expense accounts, chiefly diplomatic. His impoverished last years were largely devoted to dogging Congress for compensation, and he obtained some fifty thousand dollars. Professor Wilmerding, while acquitting Monroe of corruption, shows him entitled to none of the compensation. The irony of this model monograph is tempered with pity, however, and we are reminded that public stinginess ruined American diplomats less disposed to splurge (and less incompetent with vouchers) than Monroe.

*University of Virginia*

JOSEPH H. HARRISON, JR.

GEORGE TUCKER: MORAL PHILOSOPHER AND MAN OF LETTERS. By *Robert Colin McLean*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 265. \$6.00.) It is difficult to pass a brief judgment on this book because, in the last analysis, its failings as a biography perhaps owe as much to prevailing custom in scholarly circles as to the fault of the author. Professor McLean has written a carefully documented monograph, exposing and criticizing George Tucker's considerable literary effort. As such it is perhaps a faultless report on research and, in some places, provides intelligent and penetrating literary criticism. But the chance to give us an illuminating biographical narrative of the versatile and interesting Virginian from Bermuda is blocked by the author's excessive concern with the techniques of scholarly criticism, especially with what has been previously written about Tucker, and by an organization of his material that compartmentalizes and desiccates Tucker's thought. What we really have here are several scholarly articles about Tucker. Tucker, the whole man, does not emerge through the veil of critical analysis. Nevertheless, anyone interested in Virginia society, politics, and letters from the 1790's to about 1845, in the intricacies of the proslavery arguments, in the influence of the Scottish common-sense philosophy, and in the development of the idea of progress in this country can be rewarded in these pages. The author makes it clear how Tucker, who married first into the Tidewater "aristocracy," became a halfhearted Jeffersonian through his increasing distrust of democracy.

By telling of Tucker's shady financial undertakings, of the double standards in his voting policies as a congressman from Lynchburg, Virginia, from 1819 to 1825, and of the life of indolence he led when his financial fortunes were high, the author strengthens John Randolph's assertion that Tucker's appointment in 1824 to the first professorship of moral philosophy at the University of Virginia (which he held for two decades) would have been a mistake if moral philosophy "was anything but an empty name." Tucker, however, perhaps serves us best if he is remembered as a critic of Virginia society through his novel *The Valley of Shenandoah* (1824). On this score McLean does him justice.

*Johns Hopkins University*

WILSON SMITH

TITIAN RAMSAY PEALE, 1799-1885, AND HIS JOURNALS OF THE WILKES EXPEDITION. By *Jessie Poesch*. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume LII.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1961. Pp. x, 214. \$6.50.) Slowly items pertaining to the United States South Seas Surveying and Exploring Expedition (1838-1842), the Wilkes Expedition, become available. This volume contains a friendly and sympathetic, thoroughly documented biographical sketch of T. R. Peale, a proud, independent, and often difficult individual, the youngest son of the artist Charles Willson Peale. The young artist-naturalist was "not a giant of his time," but is held to have contributed, through paintings, drawings, and the camera, information about the flora and fauna, as well as the methodology, of the two mid-nineteenth-century American frontiers. Eighty-two pages contain five journals. Missing are the fourth, which covered the voyage from the Fijis to Hawaii and back to the South Pacific, and the sixth, the wreck of the *Peacock* on the Columbia River bar and the start of the overland trip to San Francisco. Lost journals, the failure to take the naturalists to Antarctica, plus the fact that no private affairs or opinions were to be included, help explain why the journals do not illuminate controversial aspects of the expedition. There is a bibliography, an adequate index, and seventy-seven diverse illustrations, but a geographical dictionary will be needed to read the volume.

*University of Hawaii*

CHARLES H. HUNTER

FOCUS ON INFINITY: A LIFE OF PHILLIPS BROOKS. By *Raymond W. Albright*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1961. Pp. xiv, 464. \$4.95.) Though nineteenth-century America produced many distinguished and eloquent clergymen, contemporaries recognized Phillips Brooks as one of the most effective preachers of the English-speaking world. Best known as the minister of Boston's Trinity Church and subsequently Episcopal bishop of Massachusetts, Brooks was influential far beyond the limits of his parish or denomination. He addressed crowded congregations both at home and abroad, his sermons were widely reported by the press, and in his lifetime more than a quarter of a million of his publications were disseminated. After his death in 1893, anniversary memorial services persisted for two decades. Indeed, ranking just after Jonathan Edwards, William Ellery Channing, and Henry Ward Beecher, Brooks ultimately was elected the fourth cleric honored in the Hall of Fame at New York University. With such stature and impact, he requires a discerning appraisal. Unfortunately, Brooks has not fared well at the hands of his biographers. Sixty years ago Alexander V. G. Allen, a personal friend, compiled a sixteen-hundred-page miscellany, *The Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks*. These volumes preserved valuable data, but offered little illumination of personality or career. Now we have a new attempt by Dr. R. W. Albright, Huntington Professor of Church History at the Episcopal Theological School. Buttressed by scholarly research and theological background, he has winnowed materials from both new and familiar sources. But his book is mechanical and prosaic; it is inadequate in as-



sessing the human equation of the minister and his followers. Albright has created a detailed mosaic about an eminent man, but Brooks's genius remains unexplained. Lacking depth and clarity in its focus, this is not a definitive biography.

*University of Rhode Island*

ROMAN J. ZORN

THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC. By *C. Hartley Grattan*. [American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 273. \$5.00.) This is an important pioneer work on the Southwest Pacific that combines brilliant generalizations with a distillation of the main monographic material in the field. Mr. Grattan is keenly aware of the many gaps in our knowledge, for example, the credit due Charles Wilkes for his expedition into the Southwest Pacific (1838-1842), or the basis of the vagaries of the wool trade between Australia and the United States. The book is suggestive rather than exhaustive. The annotated fourteen-page bibliography, however, is remarkable, as useful in its criticisms as any book I have seen. The area is defined as Australia, New Zealand, the South Sea islands, and Antarctica. Grattan analyzes the geographical, political, economic, and cultural structures of the several parts, sketches United States relations with the region until 1940, and uses World War II to divide the book. The second half involves various reactions to the Japanese drive which forced a redefinition of relations between the United States and Australia and New Zealand. The new relationship and the new foreign policies hammered out in ANZUS, SEATO, and other ways since 1945 are cogently set forth. What was once an area of little concern to the United States has now become a center of strong political interest. The author makes many interesting and perceptive points, including a canny description of the distinctive Australian character, how Australia expects to profit greatly from atomic power, and how Australia and New Zealand really differ. He describes some misconceptions about the Polynesian, Melanesian, and Micronesian islands, Australia's growing strength as an island trader, and the enigma of United States policy in the Far East before 1941. Australia had no clear conception of what line Japan would have to overstep in order to cause war. In the postwar section, Grattan is at pains to show how Australia and New Zealand consider the Far East the Near North and "tend to focus much of their attention upon the Near North and to calculate their national future in relation to their expectations, their hopes and fears, about that part of the world." This is as unwise as the tendency of the United States to think of relations with the Western Pacific and Asia in terms of "across the North Pacific" only. The author has made a sound, sensible, realistic contribution to the understanding of the Southwest Pacific in the context of global politics. He thus demonstrates how rare expert knowledge in the United States before Pearl Harbor was.

*San Francisco State College*

SAMUEL CLYDE McCULLOCH

FROM ST. LOUIS TO SUTTER'S FORT, 1846. By *Heinrich Lienhard*. Translated and edited by *Erwin G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde*. [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Number 33.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1961. Pp. xix, 204. \$3.95.) Although not quite on a par with Edwin Bryant's or Jesse Thornton's accounts of the trek west in 1846, Heinrich Lienhard's story pleasingly complements them. The twenty-two-year-old Swiss was neither a leader nor a trained observer but merely a young man who, with four others in pursuit of adventure, went to Independence, bought a wagon, and joined a train for California. His pages are filled with casual and homely detail that vivifies the experience and makes his narrative (now first translated and published) a significant addition to the literature of overland travel.

Though an autobiography written in the 1870's, it is closely based upon his diaries. Brief introductory and concluding sections give necessary information about the life of the author, who for a time was associated with Sutter.

*Washington University*

JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

THE LARKIN PAPERS: PERSONAL, BUSINESS, AND OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS OLIVER LARKIN, MERCHANT AND UNITED STATES CONSUL IN CALIFORNIA. Volume VII, 1847-1848. Edited by *George P. Hammond*. (Berkeley: University of California Press for the Bancroft Library. 1960. Pp. xxviii, 369. \$10.00.) Volume VII of Hammond's *Larkin Papers* opens on a quiet scene in October 1847. The insurrection of the native Californians had long since subsided, and General Kearny had conducted the contentious Frémont out of the province. Under the freer trade rules of the United States, business was looking up, real estate advancing, and demand for lumber brisk. The letters to and from Larkin mirror the passing scene which the gold discovery of January 24, 1848, would revolutionize. A letter dated January 13 contains much more than a premonitory hint, but there is error here—this letter was written a year later. The first authentic outcropping in these letters was on May 15 when John Bidwell wrote a detailed description of the gold gathering from New Helvetia. In the remaining hundred pages the old business continues, but excitement shifts to the great adventure of the placers. There are vivid reports of gold fever at Benicia, Sonoma, San Jose, San Francisco, and Monterey. Larkin goes to the mines to see for himself and writes detailed reports to his superior officer, the Secretary of State. Gold is present in the direct discourse and in more subtle ways such as the dollar giving way to the ounce as the unit of value.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

JOHN W. CAUGHEY

THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF THE JEWS OF COLORADO, 1859-1959. By *Allen duPont Breck*. [University of Denver, Department of History Series, The West in American History, Number 1.] (Denver, Colo.: Hirschfield Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 360.) Nearly half of the world's Jews live in the United States; 21,500 of these are in Colorado, and over 90 per cent of these dwell in Denver. The first Jew of record in Colorado was S. N. Carvalho, a member of Frémont's fifth expedition in 1853-1854 (not his fourth one, as stated on the dust jacket). Successive mining booms attracted Jews who developed wholesale and retail business, chiefly in Leadville and Denver. Merchants who started in Leadville, but removed to Denver, included Wolfe Londoner and David May. Rabbis Friedman and Kauvar and Doctors Elsner and Spivak were prominent in religious and humanitarian work in Denver. Otto Mears, pioneer railroad builder of southwestern Colorado, deserves more extended treatment than he receives. Breck undertook this history at the behest of the Allied Jewish Council. His book is objective, impartial, and highly informative, although his premise that "heroic pioneering" still occurs today strains the usual connotation of these words. His treatment of anti-Jewish manifestations is brief but fair. It is stated that Denver's population in 1860 was "composed almost entirely of men who had come from . . . western and northern Europe." The population of Denver was 4,749, and the number of foreign-born in Colorado Territory was only 2,666. Denver, like the territory, was doubtless over 90 per cent native American.

*Colorado College*

HARVEY L. CARTER

COLONEL ELMER ELLSWORTH: A BIOGRAPHY OF LINCOLN'S FRIEND AND FIRST HERO OF THE CIVIL WAR. By *Ruth Painter Randall*. (Boston: Little,

Brown and Company. 1960. Pp. xviii, 295. \$5.00.) In this delightful little volume Mrs. Randall tells the story of the magnetic leader of the US Zouave Cadets, who won Lincoln's warm and affectionate friendship and his commendation as "the greatest little man I ever met." Half the volume is devoted to Ellsworth's boyhood, his early and constant interest in military affairs, his struggle for survival as an impecunious law student in Chicago, and his romance with Carrie Spafford of Rockford, Illinois. The remaining chapters deal with the last fifteen months of his life: his leadership of the US Zouave Cadets, which made him, according to John Hay, "the most talked-of man in the country"; his six months in Lincoln's law office; his organization of the New York Fire Zouaves; and his death at Alexandria, Virginia, as his regiment occupied that town immediately following Virginia's ratification of the secession ordinance late in May 1861. Based on painstaking and diligent research and written with sensitivity and affection, this volume demonstrates that Ellsworth, although but twenty-four years old at his death, was a man worthy of a biography. Mrs. Randall sought to "recover Ellsworth's intriguing personality" and succeeded in doing so. She was fortunate in uncovering some hundred letters from Ellsworth to his fiancée in which he disclosed his thoughts and feelings quite frankly and fully and in having access to his intimate diary for a brief but important period of his life. She presents Ellsworth as a young man of "sympathy, affection, unselfishness, independence of thought and action, enterprise, and fearlessness," with an unusual capacity for leadership. No major reinterpretation of Ellsworth's career or of the nation's history is involved in this biography, though it amplifies our knowledge of Ellsworth and clarifies and enriches our conception of his personality. Mrs. Randall possibly passes over criticism of Ellsworth as a pompous adventurer too lightly, and some readers may find her many quotations from his letters a little excessive, but all will agree that Mrs. Randall has added another readable and valuable volume to her studies.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

BRAINERD DYER

OLD GENTLEMEN'S CONVENTION: THE WASHINGTON PEACE CONFERENCE OF 1861. By *Robert Gray Gunderson*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1961. Pp. xiii, 168. \$5.00.) To avert brutal violence, to forestall fraternal conflict, to quiet irrational passion, to harmonize contentious interests have long been thought the marks of civilized, rational men. By these standards the "old gentlemen" of the Washington Peace Conference of February 1861 were the most rational men of their generation. Regrettably they have been all but forgotten in the tin-soldiering hoop-la of the current Civil War centennial. They deserve a better fate at historians' hands, and Professor Gunderson intends that they shall have it. In this model study he has chosen to focus on that crucial moment when America teetered bewilderedly on the brink of national catastrophe. Deftly he recounts the story of the 132 delegates from 21 states who a month before Lincoln's inauguration assembled in the capital of the nation they sought to rescue from destruction. He develops in full detail, color, and dramatic suspense the three-week labors of these moderates who hoped at the eleventh hour that reasonable discussion, conciliation, and accommodation of conflicting interest might yet save the Union. Following Professor William B. Hesseltine's intriguing foreword, the author's excellent first chapter captures the charged excitement of Washington in 1861. The volume then analytically probes the political, economic, social, and personal factors operating in each delegate-sending state, as well as in the convention and on the larger national stage. The "stiff-backed men" and the "better-now-than-later" attitude come in for critical dissection in assessing the convention's work and Congress' failure to adopt its proposals. The author's prodigious, painstaking labors in uncovering and examining manuscript collections and other sources, scattered from Harvard to the Hunting-

ton Library, have produced a splendid volume that speaks to our condition amid today's explosive emotionalism.

*Los Angeles State College*

DAVID LINDSEY

MISSISSIPPI IN THE CONFEDERACY. Volume I, AS THEY SAW IT, edited by *John K. Bettersworth*; Volume II, AS SEEN IN RETROSPECT, edited by *James W. Silver*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press for the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. 1961. Pp. xxxii, 362; xx, 319. \$10.00 the set.) One of the few valuable results of the observance of the Civil War centennial has been the collection and publication of contemporary documents. Scattered items, often in private hands, have suddenly been remembered and made available. Most of these, by themselves, have little permanent value, but when brought together they often assume new importance. The present volumes, although local in scope, present a series of such documents in such a way as to contribute to southern history as a whole. Mississippians found it necessary to leave the Union because the North refused to abide by the Constitution, especially in regard to slavery. They talked of "civilizations in conflict." Many of them opposed secession, and some viewed the choice of Jefferson Davis as Provisional President "with regret." They volunteered by the thousands, but thoroughly disliked the draft. Their morale rose and fell with victory and defeat, and they became "a frantic people" when war came within their own borders. Some fought for principle; some deserted when possible. Few seem to have relished the actual fighting, and many wished to fight as state troops rather than as Confederates. Some slaves remained loyal; many flocked to the Yankees. All Mississippians knew want in war days, and, in the end, the bitterness of defeat. The total picture is one that checks any tendency toward sweeping generalizations and that emphasizes a staunch individualism. The effort to "re-create for readers . . . the atmosphere of the years from 1860 to 1865 through a careful arrangement of documents" is generally achieved, while the intelligent selection and editing of excerpts from diaries, reminiscences, and scholarly writings of a later date confirm and interpret the story told by the documents. Mississippi can be proud of its contribution to the centennial years.

*University of Chicago*

AVERY CRAVEN

THE MAXWELL LAND GRANT. By *Jim Berry Pearson*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 305. \$5.00.) This is a survey of the history of the Maxwell land grant in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. Between 1858 and 1869 Lucien Bonaparte Maxwell accumulated the grant of 1,714,764 acres or 2,680 square miles, the largest single landholding in the history of the United States. Looking at old histories of the grant and adding vast worthwhile new material, Pearson has compiled a definitive and colorful history. His story deals primarily with the intricate legal and business history of the Maxwell Land Grant Company which bought the holding from Maxwell in 1870: with costs and profits of operation, with financial collapses and reorganizations under various sets of English, Dutch, and American owners, and with conflicts between owners and settlers who "squatted" upon the grant thinking it government land. In his accounts of Maxwell, of the growth and death of mining towns, and of the many colorful characters who inhabited the grant, the author has also told the human side of the story of the grant. There will be those who will disagree with Pearson's conclusion that while the company made mistakes, it "brought business management and capital that vitalized the area's economy." There seems to be ample physical evidence—rotting mine shafts, ruined timberlands, waterless and weed-choked irrigation ditches, impassable roads and torn-up railways, and ghost towns—to raise many doubts as to whether the Maxwell Land Grant Company,

which by 1950 had sold all but ten thousand acres of its land, had really "vitalized the area's economy" except for a few fleeting years. Fourteen pages of bibliographical notes and an eleven-page index complete a craftsmanlike job. The University of Oklahoma Press is to be complimented for the attractive format, for the maps and fine illustrations, and for putting the footnotes at the bottom of the pages. The book will be a valuable addition to western Americana book shelves.

*University of Arkansas*

WALTER L. BROWN

TWAIN AND THE IMAGE OF HISTORY. By *Roger B. Salomon*. [Yale Studies in English, Volume CL.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 216. \$5.00.) Mr. Salomon's hardly surprising thesis is that Mark Twain was tormented by a conflict between his fervently progressive conception of history and his increasingly pessimistic view of human nature. At first all the historians Twain read (and he read both widely and indiscriminately) seemed to teach two clear and easy lessons. The first was that the pre-nineteenth-century past was a morass of superstition and cruelty. The second was that things were getting better in modern times. The first of these lessons stayed with Twain and proved useful. Since all the past was pervaded by evil, he could take incidents from eighteenth-century France or colonial America to bedeck his dark picture of Arthurian or Tudor England. The second lesson, the happy ending in modern liberty and industrial progress, became harder and harder to accept. Examining Twain's published and unpublished works, Salomon tracks a zigzag downward path from progressivism to despair. The sharpest turn comes in the middle of the *Connecticut Yankee*. This book was Twain's fiercest attack on "medievalism," yet in its bizarre conclusion he adjured a progressive interpretation of history in favor of a cyclical one. No longer believing in redemption through history, Twain in some of his later works tried to escape history altogether, into a belief in primal or exceptional innocence (*Huckleberry Finn* and *Joan of Arc*), then into nihilism or solipsism (*The Mysterious Stranger*). Salomon's organization of his subject is plausible and interesting, and yet he has the sense to warn us that in dealing with Twain, chronology is not very important. The book tells us much about some of Twain's works, and some of Clemens' emotions. About the reasons for these emotions, it is less satisfactory. It is not always easy to tell whether Salomon is ascribing Twain's inner conflicts to personal traits, historical events, or a general ambiguity in American culture. Part of the difficulty lies in Salomon's style, which is often imprecise and unduly abstract, part in his method of research. It might well be argued that his purpose is not historical explanation. If this is the case, he makes too many historical generalizations. For a historian's taste, there are too many casual references to Whig historians, existentialism, and even "the eighteenth century (or whatever earlier date one arbitrarily chooses from which to trace the origins of our modern and scientific world-order)." Points are made too often by analogy with other writers or citation of recent critics, and not enough by close examination either of Twain's reading or of his milieu. Yet the book has something to tell us about Mark Twain and his time, especially those who think that either was simple.

*University of California, Berkeley*

HENRY F. MAY

"HE BUILT SEATTLE": A BIOGRAPHY OF JUDGE THOMAS BURKE. By *Robert C. Nesbit*. [University of Washington Publications in History.] (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1961. Pp. xvii, 455. \$7.50.) When Thomas Burke arrived in Seattle in 1875 as a young lawyer from Michigan, he found a sawmill and trading center of some three thousand people contesting with Tacoma, Port Townsend, and Olympia for economic domination of Puget Sound. By 1910, its population swollen to

237,000, Seattle had become the undisputed financial, manufacturing, and trade center on the sound, and Judge Burke, successful and secure, was regarded as one of the city's "pioneer builders." In the process of tracing Burke's varied career as land speculator, railroad promoter, politician, public speaker, territorial chief justice, western counsel for Jim Hill's Great Northern, and civic leader, Robert C. Nesbit comes close to writing a history of Seattle, and he certainly provides the best explanation I have seen of Seattle's rise to pre-eminence among the cities of the Pacific Northwest. There is deliberate irony in the book's title for Nesbit makes it very clear that Burke and others like him were less builders of a city than controllers of a site who, by inducing eastern and midwestern capitalists to invest in Seattle enterprises, helped develop the city, enriched both themselves and absentee owners, and generally confirmed the colonial character of far western economic growth. Although considerable repetition and a sometimes curiously circuitous style make the book longer than need be, Nesbit presents intelligent treatment of a city's formative period, and he makes a clear-eyed and uncompromising appraisal of an influential first citizen.

*University of Oregon*

EDWIN R. BINGHAM

CHARLES BRANTLEY AYCOCK. By *Oliver H. Orr, Jr.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1961. Pp. x, 394. \$7.50.) That North Carolina is more liberal than any other southern state is a national legend. The most obvious manifestation of this belief has been the application of universal education. Orr tells the story of the chief local agent of this redemption, Charles Brantley Aycock, governor of North Carolina at the turn of the century. Aycock, like a majority of articulate North Carolinians, regarded universal education as the *sine qua non* of civic progress. He did not neglect the Negro, persuading the state legislature not to divide funds for racially separated schools in proportion to the amount each race paid directly in taxes. Orr tells the story of Aycock's life with the critical frankness his meager sources allow. The subject of the study is revealed as a progressive North Carolinian who was also a deep-dyed southerner. Aycock had many characteristics that make him black in the opinion of those who measure all Americans by northern standards. He was a florid orator without an education of the Harvard type. Springing from a slaveholding family, he believed as firmly as John C. Calhoun or Jefferson Davis that the Negro was innately inferior and therefore should be held in an inferior caste. As a strict adherent to the post-Reconstruction brand of southern Democracy, he was as firm a believer in white supremacy as Ben Tillman or James K. Vardaman. He was a conspicuous participant in the anti-Negro campaign of 1898 that seemingly made North Carolina forever Democratic. Yet Aycock believed that by taking the Negro out of politics he was preparing the way to make his beloved state into a just and liberal commonwealth. At his beckoning North Carolina has treated the Negro as fairly as any state under the southern caste system.

*Longwood College*

FRANCIS B. SIMKINS

THE CHAUTAUQUA MOVEMENT: AN EPISODE IN THE CONTINUING AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Joseph E. Gould.* ([New York:] State University of New York; distrib. by University Publishers, New York. 1961. Pp. xiv, 108. \$4.50.) We should not be misled by the title of this monograph. There is a thesis: that Chautauqua developed because of an American craving for culture, flourished especially in the rural West which needed it most, and then declined with the growth of national passivity and uniformity. There are assorted episodes and a few vignettes. And there is the usual idealized picture of a Chautauqua Week. But the center of interest is stolen by William Rainey Harper. The author tries to parallel the developments at the Uni-



versity of Chicago with earlier ones at Chautauqua, but he writes more about Harper and his institution than anything else. Here was a man, the author must have felt, who knew where he stood. One example cited, Harper on scholarship, is probably enough: "Promotion of younger men in the departments will depend more largely upon the results of their work as investigators than upon the efficiency of their teaching."

*University of Maryland*

CARL BODE

WILLIAM B. GREELEY: A PRACTICAL FORESTER, 1879-1955. By *George T. Morgan, Jr.* (St. Paul, Minn.: Forest History Society. 1961. Pp. 82. \$2.95.) While Gifford Pinchot blazed the way as the crusader in the field of forest conservation, there was a leader, William B. Greeley, forest assistant in 1904 and Chief Forester from 1920 to 1928, who reconciled forest conservation with the business interest and evolved the program which today provides for the growth of about as much timber as the nation uses. Greeley is particularly to be remembered for his work on the Clarke-McNary Act of 1924, providing for the extension of national forests, reforestation, taxation, and fire prevention. The personal papers of Greeley and government documents have been expertly used, the illustrations are excellent, there is a workable index, and the bibliography provides a good check list of publications in the recent period. The book is an excellent contribution.

*University of Omaha*

ROY M. ROBBINS

THE HAWAIIAN REPUBLIC (1894-98) AND ITS STRUGGLE TO WIN ANNEXATION. By *William Adam Russ, Jr.* (Selinsgrove, Pa.: Susquehanna University Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 398. \$5.00.) This volume is a sequel to the author's *Hawaiian Revolution* (1959), and the two volumes must be considered as a unit. Together, they trace in considerable detail the story of the successful efforts of a group of foreigners in the Hawaiian Islands to effect the annexation of those islands by the United States. It began with the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in January 1893 and was interrupted by President Cleveland's adamant hostility to annexation. This compelled the revolutionists to create the highly undemocratic republic of Hawaii as a vehicle through which they could govern the islands while awaiting the advent of a more sympathetic administration in the United States. Professor Russ told the first part of this story in his earlier volume. He concludes it in the present one, beginning with the establishment of the republic and culminating in the annexation resolution of July 1898. Both volumes are strictly political history, woven closely around the twin themes of revolution and annexation. Because of this focus, approximately half the present volume is devoted to the diplomacy and politics of annexation from March 1897 to July 1898. This book, like its predecessor, is based on extensive research in Hawaiian and American sources. It is carefully written and presents objectively an account of events and issues which were once highly controversial and about which historians do not wholly agree today. Both volumes deal primarily with the activities and aspirations of the annexationists, and their side of the story receives full treatment. Each volume concludes with a brief chapter entitled "Summing Up," in which the author states his own judgments of the events discussed. From these conclusions it appears that he accepts the arguments of the annexationists that the revolution was necessary to eliminate a corrupt monarchy and that annexation was imperative to preserve the islands from Japanese domination. There will be some dissent from these judgments, and some readers will question his statement that the annexationists faced "tremendous odds" in gaining their objective. Readers in the islands may well regret, as I do, that he so often used "kanaka" as a synonym for Hawaiian, for such usage is inaccurate and offensive

to Hawaiians. In *The Hawaiian Revolution*, Russ retraced ground already well surveyed by previous writers. In the present volume, he is concerned with topics not hitherto covered in detail in scholarly studies. Both volumes, however, must be welcomed by all interested in Hawaiian history; together they comprise an important scholarly account of the events leading directly to the annexation of Hawaii.

*Vanderbilt University*

HAROLD WHITMAN BRADLEY

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY. Volume II, THE GROWING YEARS. By *W. Freeman Galpin*. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 528. \$5.00.) This volume is devoted to the history of the administration of James Roscoe Day, chancellor of Syracuse University from 1894 to 1922. In this period, Professor Galpin argues with a massive display of fact, Syracuse worked through the sometimes exhilarating and sometimes agonizing consequences of a choice that altered its very nature: a denominational college with a limited clientele was fashioned into "one of the nation's outstanding universities." Although much of the material presented bears on matters of purely local interest, many pages illuminate important topics in the general history of higher education, for example, the issue of denominationalism, problems of finance, and (most notably) the nature of academic leadership. Chancellor Day personified the variety of the changing ingredients of a college or university presidency—the ministerial tradition, the duty and habit of public utterance, responsibility for unflagging intramural expansion, and heavy dependence upon the personal and financial support of business magnates. Just behind Day stood his exact contemporary, fellow Methodist, and friend, John D. Archbold.

*University of Chicago*

RICHARD J. STORR

FROM HUMBLE BEGINNINGS: WEST VIRGINIA STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR, 1903-1957. By *Evelyn L. K. Harris* and *Frank J. Krebs*. ([Charleston:] West Virginia Labor History Publishing Fund. 1960. Pp. xxv, 553. \$5.00.) By its own admission, this work is designed to embalm in history "a colorful and important period of the West Virginia trade-union movement" so that "future generations might be mindful of the long struggle of the state labor organization for decent wages, for legislation favorable to the working men and women . . . better roads, better schools and more equitable taxes. . . ." Born toward the close of the "honeymoon period" of labor and capital in 1903, the West Virginia State Federation of Labor alternately suffered schisms, dissolutions, reorganizations, internal weaknesses; yet, according to the narrative, it finally emerged successful and aggressive. Following closely the ups and downs of the history of the national labor movement during the period, this recounting of the West Virginia movement offers little to the reader in the way of novel revelations or unexpected trends. It does achieve its main purpose of bringing to light detailed information about the West Virginia labor scene. The book's straightforward bias toward labor represents both its chief strength and weakness. The authors' sympathy with labor lends a certain enthusiasm to their words; yet such sympathy sometimes weakens their objectivity. Quite naturally their main source of information is the *Proceedings of the West Virginia State Federation of Labor*. However they rely on them too heavily, ignore general public and business sentiment too completely, and too glibly gloss over labor's own shortcomings (for example, corruption and illegal anti-business practices). The work is chronologically organized into twelve chapters; the style is clear and uncluttered. Excellent illustrations add much to the total effect. If an unreserved endorsement of the state's federated labor movement was wanted, the West Virginia Labor History Publishing Fund spent its money wisely.

*Pennsylvania State University*

ROBERT K. MURRAY

**AERONAUTICS AND ASTRONAUTICS: AN AMERICAN CHRONOLOGY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN THE EXPLORATION OF SPACE, 1915-1960.** By *Eugene M. Emme*. Foreword by *Hugh L. Dryden*. (Washington, D. C.: National Aeronautics and Space Administration. 1961. Pp. xi, 240. \$1.75.) Chronologies are indispensable research tools, and future historians will have good reason to be thankful for this work of Dr. Emme, historian of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. His chronology is a model of what such works should be, listing not only the important milestones in its field, but also containing a valuable series of appendixes, a select bibliography, and a complete index. The scope of the book is broader than its name implies. It does not concentrate exclusively on United States events or on "firsts" in aircraft or rocket achievements; Emme recognizes that events in the history of scientific research and technological development are not isolated from organizational, military, political, or other general events, and he occasionally cites those in order to remind the reader of the broader historical context in which aeronautical and astronautical developments occurred. Emme divides his chronology into two parts, that from 1915 to October 1957 taking approximately ninety pages, while the second part, dealing with only three years of the space age, occupies fifty pages. His proportions are undoubtedly correct; traditional historical periodization is inapplicable when it comes to the rapid scientific and technological acceleration of the most recent period. It is perhaps portentous that the dividing line between the aeronautic and astronautic ages is not an American event but a Russian one: the launching of Sputnik I. In the terms of the trade, Emme's book will undoubtedly become a "launching pad" for further significant historical work in this field.

*Case Institute of Technology*

MELVIN KRANZBERG

**PUERTO RICAN POLITICS AND THE NEW DEAL.** By *Thomas Mathews*. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 345. \$8.00.) Told soberly and in patient detail, here is a narrative of Puerto Rican politics in the 1930's. The skeleton of the story is small boned for in many ways this period is simply a curtain raiser to the island's subsequent years of vigorous economic development and advance toward political autonomy. Professor Mathews assembles his account directly from sources, particularly from the records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs and of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions, and also from the private collection of Ruby Black, the Washington journalist who served as an informal lobbyist for Puerto Rico. The theme of the study is that the New Deal, for all of the fresh spirit it brought to the national scene, had weak and rather confused effects in this poverty-stricken, overcrowded, and hurricane-ridden island possession. We are told in fact that by 1938 the New Deal was "not renovating, but in some ways reactionary in character." The governors of this period, Gore and Winship, were both inept. Ernest Gruening, appointed as the first director of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions in 1934, proved arbitrary and headstrong. The Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration, created in 1935 as a more substantial alternative to emergency relief, was tightly controlled from Washington, and only rarely were Puerto Ricans given influence at the policy level. The Palm Sunday "massacre" of Nationalist demonstrators by the Ponce police in 1937 was symptomatic of a political malaise that Washington's inexperience at colonial management did little to soothe. Mathews feels that the valuable legacy of the 1930's was Washington's sudden concern for the socioeconomic problems of Puerto Rico and the acquaintance that Puerto Rican leaders made with radical ideas of economic planning. Such changes of atmosphere prepared the way for the purposeful administration of Governor Tugwell, who contributes a foreword to this book. These more positive aspects, however, are little emphasized. Mathews is so close to his sources and their

cluttered tale of intrigue and blunder that the reader must sometimes grope for the design of the story and for clues to the psychocultural setting within which it unfolds. Those who witnessed the events may challenge some of the author's judgments of persons. Yet by and large his account is as nonpartisan as one could expect for history so recent. The most persistent figure is the present governor, Muñoz Marín, then a senator, minority party leader, journalist, and ubiquitous strategist, gadfly, and intriguer in Washington and San Juan—a classic “colonial” type. Whether he receives an unobtrusive face lifting here is a point that is now too delicate for the full discussion it should someday receive.

*State University of New York, Long Island Center*

RICHARD M. MORSE

NEWSPRINT: PRODUCERS, PUBLISHERS, POLITICAL PRESSURES. INCLUDING THE TEXT OF *PRINT PAPER PENDULUM: GROUP PRESSURES AND THE PRICE OF NEWSPRINT*. By L. Ethan Ellis. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1960. Pp. vi, 215. \$7.50.) The history of the newsprint industry on the North American continent is, as the author of this valuable book shows, “a case study in business pressures.” Naturally the manufacturers of newsprint—meaning newspaper printing paper manufactured from wood pulp, generally used in the United States since the 1870's—have striven to pay generous dividends to their stockholders. Just as naturally the publishers of newspapers have tried to get their raw material supply at low cost in the process of making as much money as possible for the newspaper owners. Consequently, the two interests have been ranged on opposing sides for some three-quarters of a century. With this struggle has gone a series of swings of the economic pendulum. It has also been accompanied by investigation and contention in Congress. Periods of high prices for newsprint invariably have been relatively short and have arisen from tariff favors, national emergency, or manufacturer manipulation. When profits have been heavy, new investment capital has been drawn into the newsprint producing business. This larger capacity has brought on overproduction and depressed prices. While these production and profit swings have been taking place, the publishers have joined to exert pressure “to correct alleged abuses to the end of securing cheaper paper.” The higher the prices the more vocal the publisher pressure groups. All the while, areas of supply have shifted, largely from the United States to Canada; tariff policy has changed in Washington, as parties have risen and fallen; and there has been “a revolution in the scale and organization of production.” That is the story which Ellis told in *Print Paper Pendulum* (1948), which covered the period 1878–1937. The new book brings the narrative through 1958 and reprints the first as a 215-page appendix. Ellis gives major attention to economic and industrial forces, but he also traces the part that members of Congress and other public officials and leaders in the publishing business have played. He speaks, for example, of President Theodore Roosevelt as “a notorious temporizer in the tariff area.” The author's final conclusion is that “neither legislation, investigation nor public pressures will . . . bring these divergent elements into harmonious relationship.” Such an end “must eventuate from concerted efforts to study mutual problems and prepare some joint approach to their solution.” But the prospect is not bright since “history offers more examples of failure than success in such experiments.” It appears that all the pertinent reference material is cited in the extensive notes and statistical tables.

*Collinsville, Illinois*

IRVING DILLIARD

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1940. In five volumes. Volume V, THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS. [Department of State Publication 7188.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1961. Pp. vii,

1202. \$4.00.) This long volume carefully documents the reactions of the American republics to the problems presented by events in Europe in the months before and after the fall of France, including hemisphere defense; the possible transfer to Germany and Italy of Western Hemisphere colonial possessions of France and the Netherlands, and perhaps even Britain; subversive activities directed by the Axis powers within the republics; and the grave economic difficulties resulting from the war. The record indicates that the heavyhanded diplomacy of Hull, who headed the United States delegation to the Havana Conference (Welles remained in Washington), did not achieve the degree of success sometimes credited to it. Of special interest are these items: proposed national policy regarding the supply of arms to American republics; Nazi activities in Uruguay; negotiation of claims arising from Mexican land appropriations; and the Inter-American Coffee Agreement. Intelligent cross-referencing and indexing provide valuable aids for research.

*Kent State University*

MAURY BAKER

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1942. In seven volumes. Volume III, EUROPE. [Department of State Publication 7165.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1961. Pp. vi, 869. \$3.25.) These documents cover our relations with European states in alphabetical order from Iceland through Yugoslavia. The papers dealing with the USSR are of great importance. Here is positive proof that there was imperfect understanding in the United States of the relationship between power and politics. Rich opportunities to move toward winning the peace were neglected under a policy that sought to postpone all political decisions for Europe until the end of the war. Stalin, meanwhile, demanded British recognition of Russia's 1941 frontiers plus bases in Rumania. He was willing to leave the Polish frontier question open, but indicated the Curzon Line with modifications as his goal. United States opposition appears to have been decisive in preventing an Anglo-Russian agreement on Russia's frontiers in 1942. But President Roosevelt did present to Commissar for Foreign Affairs Molotov on May 29 and June 1 his view that the United States, Russia, Great Britain, and perhaps China should police the postwar world and, even more startling, that many islands and colonial possessions should be taken from weak nations and placed under Russian trusteeship. The Polish government in London was increasingly apprehensive regarding Russian expansionist intentions, especially in Lithuania and Rumania, and deeply preoccupied with the treatment of Poles in Russia, but the United States worked to shelve a Polish proposal for a union of East European states. The Yugoslav government in London presented evidence of increasing Communist efforts to take over Yugoslavia. The British and the Americans, meanwhile, were embarrassed by constant Russian pressure for a second front in Europe, somewhat blinded by their great admiration for Russian resistance, fearful lest offense to Russia cause a deal with Hitler, and hopeful that Russia would play a role in the defeat of Japan. There are interesting documents on the tangled Spanish story, on unsuccessful United States efforts to prevent the establishment of diplomatic relations between Japan and the Vatican, and on papal efforts to prevent the bombing of Rome.

*Colgate University*

WILLIAM C. ASKEW

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: CURRENT DOCUMENTS, 1957. [Department of State Publication 7101, Historical Office, Bureau of Public Affairs.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1961. Pp. xlii, 1713. \$5.25.) This volume continues a governmental project designed to provide scholars with early and convenient access to selected raw materials of diplomatic history. The enterprise was launched in 1950 with *A Decade of American Foreign Policy: Basic Documents, 1941-1949*, prepared



jointly by the Division of Historical Policy Research of the Department of State and the staff of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; a continuation, selected by the Department and published in 1957, was entitled *American Foreign Policy, 1950-1955: Basic Documents*. The series has apparently stabilized in an annual volume prepared under departmental aegis. This volume is the second of these, the first, covering 1956, having appeared in 1959. The volumes provide an intermediate stage between day-to-day material made available in the press and the departmental *Bulletin* (some of which they reprint) and *Foreign Relations of the United States*, published years after the event and affording a closer insight into policy determination and the mechanics of negotiation. Supplementing the current material just mentioned, they present treaties and some diplomatic correspondence, together designed to "indicate the scope, goals, and implementation of American foreign policy." The arrangement is generally chronological within a broad range of topics, with fairly elaborate cross reference devices. Space allocations reflect, of course, the year's important developments. For 1957 Europe, including its Communist East, receives nearly four hundred pages, followed by emergent African and Near and Middle Eastern problems, the United Nations, and disarmament, with related matters of atomic energy and outer space. Western Hemisphere affairs, soon to become pressing, and Far Eastern matters, currently in a relatively quiescent phase, receive less attention. The selections are excellently chosen and present much useful material. Among the 512 items the historian will find a considerable grist of the reports, communiqués, messages, and formal addresses which are readily available. He will welcome in addition these groups of less accessible material: formal diplomatic notes, "replies" by President and Secretary of State to the often-embarrassing press conference queries, and "statements" by various responsible spokesmen. On the whole, this is an excellent compilation.

*Rutgers University*

L. ETHAN ELLIS

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1960. By *Richard P. Stebbins*. (New York: Harper and Brothers for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1961. Pp. xii, 436. \$6.00.) This eleventh contribution of Richard P. Stebbins to a series which has been garnering favorable reviews since its inception three decades ago relies heavily upon a companion volume, *Documents on American Foreign Relations*. The author combines a masterful ability to comprehend and marshal complex details to bring his readers abreast of affairs within weeks of their occurrence, thus furnishing scholars and teachers with an invaluable tool of their trade. Two matters, doubtless inevitable in a format chosen to give the widest possible coverage, annoyed one reader mildly: the first is a repetitiousness which brings the same matters repeatedly into the story, the second, a tendency toward lengthy description of world events before relating the United States to them. For example, only after twelve of the excellent sixty pages on the African explosion does the United States enter the narrative. The cold war occupies major attention, with tension mounting rapidly through Khrushchev's effrontery in torpedoing the Summit Conference and his buffoonery before the United Nations. The African chapter shows the United States peripherally interested, embarrassed by ambivalent sympathy with African nationalism and with its friends, the late colonial powers, and ending by advocating African neutralism. In the Far East, vigorous anti-Americanism emerged in Japan, Communist China asserted faith in triumph by force as against the current Russian concept of competitive coexistence, and brush fire hostilities developed in Laos. Fidel Castro's move into the Communist orbit pointed up general Latin American feeling that United States policy had for years neglected that region for other areas. Efforts to cauterize the Castro sore were hampered by other American powers' desire to deal harshly with a rightist dictatorship in Santo Domingo; the



United States feared lest drastic steps here might open the door to further Communist penetration of Latin America, and the net result was indecisive.

*Rutgers University*

L. ETHAN ELLIS

QUEBEC, 1759: THE SIEGE AND THE BATTLE. By C. P. Stacey. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1959. Pp. xiii, 210. \$6.50.) This concise, lively volume is the most valuable of the publications commemorating the bicentennial of the Battle of the Plains, the encounter which had such momentous consequences for all of North America. Colonel Stacey, the retired head of the Canadian Army's Historical Section, now teaching at the University of Toronto, has written an admirable study in historical criticism that clears the ground of much romantic nonsense and popular legend. He has sought and succeeded in providing a "new and independent interpretation based on a careful re-examination of the contemporary documents of both sides and on the 'military probabilities.'" To this task he has brought an experience in the interpretation of historical evidence on military operations which most earlier writers on the subject have lacked. Some distinguished heads roll in Stacey's brisk criticism of the vast literature on the Quebec campaign, including those of Sir Julian Corbett, Colonel William Wood, and Sir Arthur Doughty. But this book is not primarily concerned with pointing out earlier errors, but rather with answering some questions which have gone unanswered in the continuing controversies centering on the leading figures of Wolfe, Montcalm, and Vaudreuil. After reviewing the literature, characterizing the leaders and their forces, and describing the fortifications of Quebec, Stacey carefully studies the course of the campaign from beginning to end. He reaches the conclusion that the abilities of both Wolfe and Montcalm have been grossly exaggerated, as have Vaudreuil's faults. To him neither Montcalm nor Wolfe was a really great commander. Their exceptional personal gallantry was offset by defects of temperament and personality which were damaging to their military usefulness. Montcalm was the better strategist, Wolfe, the abler tactician. But neither combined the qualities of a great military leader. Six admirably clear operational maps by Major C. C. J. Bond and contemporary and modern illustrations supplement the text of this very useful volume.

*University of Rochester*

MASON WADE

THE CANADIAN JOURNAL OF LADY ABERDEEN, 1893-1898. Edited with an introduction by John T. Saywell. [Publications of the Champlain Society, Volume XXXVIII.] (Toronto: the Society. 1960. Pp. lxxxiv, 517.) Lady Aberdeen's *Through Canada with a Kodak* (1893) is now more than matched by the publication of her *Journal*. It is replete with chitchat about family, formal openings, dedications, receptions, dinners, inspections, and other public and private functions. But its importance lies in other directions: in its description of Lady Aberdeen's successful efforts to establish the National Council of Women in Canada and many of its branches, which she regarded as her greatest achievement, and her perceptive comments on political developments and personages, especially on the Manitoba school question, cabinet changes, and Sir John Thompson and Sir Wilfred Laurier both of whom she admired greatly. There are good descriptions of people and places in every part of Canada. She was shocked by the religious intolerance of Protestants and the narrowness of the Catholic hierarchy. Her feelings about the United States were intense, as for example the "v. American W.C.T.U." and Canada "a country where freedom & liberty exists for *all* & not for some, where law and order are respected, & where treaties with the Indians are respected." Annexationism was anathema. A superb seventy-page introduction provides an absorbing analysis of Canadian affairs in the 1890's.

*Albany, New York*

ALBERT B. COREY

THE SOCIAL CREDIT MOVEMENT IN ALBERTA. By *John A. Irving*. [Social Credit in Alberta: Its Background and Development, Number 10.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 369. \$6.00.) The overwhelming victory of the Social Credit party led by William Aberhart in the Alberta provincial election of June 22, 1935, when the party gained fifty-six of the sixty-three seats in the legislature, has long remained a phenomenon almost as mysterious as it was surprising at the time. Certainly there was every reason for an explosion of agrarian discontent. Every factor in the classic pattern that had earlier produced the Populist revolt and other unusual political movements in other agricultural regions of North America was present in full force in the Alberta of the mid-1930's. The farming population of the area felt itself, with some justice, to be the plaything of external forces and of men indifferent if not hostile to its fate. They had endured drought and pestilence, their markets in the United States had been abruptly cut off by tariff changes, and their hard-won crops had to be sold for pitifully low prices. It is the outstanding merit of Irving's book that it relates this general background, so favorable for the success of some political movement expressive of discontent and promising redress, to the specific event of the meteoric rise of Social Credit, and explains for the first time satisfactorily why victory went to Social Credit and not to the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, the United Farmers of Alberta, or any other movement. The criticisms and the proposals of the CCF were much more profound and rational, too profound, for the strength of Social Credit lay in the delightful simplicity of its promise of a twenty-five dollar a month dividend with its avoidance of any basic attack on the economic system. Finally, Social Credit had an advocate of genius, a leader possessed of charisma and with talents especially suited to the novel medium of radio, in Aberhart. Irving concentrates exclusively on the period between Aberhart's conversion to the economic doctrines of Major C. H. Douglas in July 1932 and his sweeping victory in the election of June 1935. He shows how Aberhart skillfully diverted to political ends the organization and the following that he had already acquired as a fundamentalist radio preacher. He makes it clear that Aberhart worked in a favorable soil. This study makes a fascinating contribution to research in mass behavior. It is psychological and sociological in approach, having as its staple a series of interviews with men and women who knew Aberhart, or were converted by him on the radio. The diffuse material is handled with great skill to bring out its significance.

*University of California, Riverside*

ARTHUR C. TURNER

LA CONQUISTA ESPAÑOLA DE AMÉRICA SEGÚN EL JUICIO DE LA POSTERIDAD: VESTIGIOS DE LA LEYENDA NEGRA. By *Sverker Arnoldsson*. [Instituto Ibero-Americano Gotemburgo Suecia.] (Madrid: "Insula." 1960. Pp. 75.) Judgements on the justice of the Spanish conquest of America invariably depend upon one's attitude toward the Indian civilizations of the New World and toward the contributions made by the invaders from Europe. The literature on the subject is copious and often highly colored by propagandistic or patriotic considerations. This posthumous essay by the Swedish Hispanist utilizes a small portion of this literature and lightly sketches the diverse interpretations held from the time of such early missionaries as Las Casas and Mendieta to such contemporaries as José Vasconcelos, Manuel Gamio, and Luis Valcarcel. I regret to report that this last fruit of Arnoldsson's devotion to Hispanic studies, which is described in a useful biographical and bibliographical statement, is not in the same class as his original and solid monograph on the origins of the *leyenda negra* in Europe.

*Columbia University*

LEWIS HANKE

THE CONSTANT CAPTAIN: GONZALO DE SANDOVAL. By *C. Harvey Gardiner*. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 221. \$4.50.) This dramatically presented narrative focuses on Gonzalo de Sandoval, the able captain of Cortés, but also includes a considerable part of the history of the early conquest of Mexico. The author uses largely familiar sources to tell with skill and animation the achievements of this "first class fighting man," from his enlistment in Cuba in 1518 at the age of twenty until his death in 1528 just as he returned to Spain. In those nine years of almost constant campaigning Sandoval proved one of Cortés' bravest and most loyal lieutenants and a discreet administrator as well, who respected Indians and often made use of their aid. Sandoval apparently wrote less than other conquistadors, and the records by and about him are scanty, although Gardiner searched widely and gleaned some new information from documents testifying to the "servicios y méritos" of Sandoval and other soldiers, which they had prepared to win preferment from the crown. The result is a spiritedly written account and a useful corrective to the usual concentration on Cortés and his deeds. A shortcoming—for me—is the semirococo style employed and the author's addiction to clichés: missionaries "seethe with righteous indignation," rumors are "spawned," and waters as well as Spanish life "surge." Another doubtful device is the use of conjecture when facts are not available. For example, Sandoval, according to "some sources," received a highborn maiden from Tlaxcalan chieftains, which leads to the question: "Did the Tlaxcalan princess share his bed until the expedition left on the thrust toward Montezuma's capital?" One must commend the author for his effort to hold the reader's interest, but the frequent conjectures may have the opposite effect. The physical presentation of the volume is attractive, but a map indicating Sandoval's extensive campaigns would have been helpful.

*Columbia University*

LEWIS HANKE

THE DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF BRITISH HONDURAS, 1638-1901. By *R. A. Humphreys*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 196. \$5.60.) To paraphrase Professor Humphreys of University College London, the colony of British Honduras has been a subject of international controversy from the time of its founding to the present, a period of more than three hundred years. First, it was disputed between Spain and Great Britain; in the nineteenth century, between Great Britain and Guatemala, between Great Britain and Mexico, and between Great Britain and the United States; and in the 1930's, Guatemala went further in demanding that the entire colony be handed over. In this heavily documented monograph Humphreys authoritatively and lucidly re-examines the diplomatic history of the colony down to the year 1901, concluding at that point because, he says, no fresh issues have appeared in the controversy since then. He has, however, published studies on more recent events. The core of the book is in its careful presentation of the Anglo-Guatemalan Convention of 1859, supposedly a definitive boundary treaty but in which a new factor appeared in the seventh article. In this article it was implied, though not expressly stated, that Great Britain would aid financially in the building of a road connecting the capital of Guatemala with the Atlantic coast. British doubts as to how this article could best be implemented, and Guatemalan discontent with proposals made, led to new troubles. Six excellent maps are in a pocket at the end of the book.

*University of Southern California*

RICHARD W. VAN ALSTYNE

THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA. By *Charles O. Porter* and *Robert J. Alexander*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1961. Pp. 215. \$4.50.)

The authors of this volume have sought to enlighten the general public concerning a critically important contemporary problem; they have neither attempted nor achieved a basic contribution to historical literature. Convinced that "Latin America is ready for democracy" and that the United States citizenry must buttress the struggle toward democratic governments taking place there, they relate the crisis in United States-Latin American relations in part to the fact that "all too frequently in recent years the power and prestige of the United States have been thrown . . . on the side of dictatorship" and claim that "if good relations are again to be established . . . the people of the United States must be made aware of the facts concerning the struggle for democracy in Latin America." The book's purpose is to provide some of these facts. The struggle's "historical roots" are presented in four general chapters which contain analyses of forces favoring and opposing democracy. Significant favorable forces include the democratic political parties, of which seven variations are described. We are warned that "indigenous totalitarian" parties have become potentially dangerous to democracy since Castro's triumph. Succeeding chapters describe "Recent Democratic Victories" in five nations and discuss the prospects in four "Remaining Tyrannies." The "Fall of Batista" is considered a "democratic victory," but not the rise of Castro. A final chapter concerns itself with recent policies of the United States toward Latin America recommending greater concern for Latin America, "a general position favoring democracy against dictatorship," and economic cooperation for the development of Latin America. This well-organized and clearly written book accomplishes the authors' purpose by picturing sharply for the general reader the democratic forces operative in Latin America and explaining in terms understandable to him the profound effect upon those forces of United States policy.

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DOCUMENTOS HISTÓRICOS DE LA REVOLUCIÓN MEXICANA. Volume I, REVOLUCIÓN Y RÉGIMEN CONSTITUCIONALISTA. Edited under the direction of *Isidro Fabela*. [Fuentes y documentos de la historia de México.] (México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1960. Pp. vii, 553.) Former Secretary of Foreign Affairs Isidro Fabela has become one of the most productive of present-day Mexican historians. His two-volume work on the Mexican Revolution (*AHR*, LXVI [Jan. 1961], 491) is now supplemented by the first of a series of volumes of source materials. This collection includes 223 documents, or groups of related documents on the same subject, dealing with the period from February 1913 to July 1915. Other volumes are planned to cover the whole period from 1910 to 1920. The editor's earlier position as Foreign Secretary under President Carranza gave rise to many of the documents reproduced in this collection emphasizing foreign affairs and restricted to the Carranza story. Few or no materials concerning Victoriano Huerta are here, and very little appears concerning Pancho Villa except in connection with his disaffection from the Constitutionalist cause. Until such documents are published, American students may approach them through the bibliography of Robert E. Quirk, *The Mexican Revolution, 1914-1915*. Much attention is paid to Mexican relations with the United States; reports concerning agents of the Washington government and questions of military equipment recur constantly. Scholars in this country will be interested in carefully checking number 126, taken from *El Heraldo de Cuba*, which attributes a somewhat surprising statement to former President Taft. One long section is a translation and condensation of Ray Stannard Baker, *Life and Letters of Woodrow Wilson*, Volume IV. Here it is simply attributed to *El Excelsior* and directly quotes the newspaper edition with only minor paragraph modifications which appear to do little violence to the contents. Scholars, however, should certainly use the English original. Condensation for newspaper purposes in a translation for a

foreign people eliminates valuable material and substantially changes emphases. Numerous reports of conditions in various parts of Mexico and communications of Carranza concerning his domestic program constitute the bulk of the remaining material. Quite appropriately the last section presents a convenient collection of the First Chief's additions to the Plan of Guadalupe as well as of decrees that outline his social and economic plans for his people. Restricted to one phase of the Revolution, these documents nevertheless add substantially to those heretofore readily available. Historians will eagerly await the subsequent volumes. It is to be hoped that they will include all phases of the Revolution and will contain information concerning the "outs" as well as the "ins."

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T. Robert S. Broughton

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\* \* \* \* *Historical News* \* \* \* \*

EDITORIAL

History and Contemporaneity

Twenty years ago, Marc Bloch, in his unfinished testament, proposed that history be extended "right down to the present." To him, there was "just one science of men in time." History stopped short of the present as though the most recent events, because recent, were not suitable for serious research.

In the 1960 presidential address, Professor Bernadotte Schmitt told us that, when he began the study of history at Oxford in 1905, English history stopped at 1837 and continental history at 1878. "Anything written about recent and contemporary affairs," he said, "could not be history for it lacked the proper sources and was likely to be tainted with 'politics.'" Professor Schmitt cut down the time lag when his scholarly account of the coming of World War I appeared just a dozen years after the armistice. That the task of the historian of the coming of World War II was easier than his was due, in part, to certain publications which he describes as "works of journalism, not history."

As Walter Lippmann in 1959 looked back over his fifty years as a journalist, he told the National Press Club: "If I had to sum up in one sentence what has happened, it would be that the Washington correspondent has had to teach himself not only to be a recorder of facts and a chronicler of events, but also—if I may put it that way—to be a writer of notes and essays in contemporary history."

Whether they are history or journalism, the college texts of today with their frequent new editions are brought up to the very minute of publication. Our historical journals show no tendency to exclude the recent and contemporary.

Today we get more of the documents more quickly than before, but who can say when we have all, or even enough, of them? The "definitive work" waits a long while, and then the revisionists are ready to rewrite it. Detachment and critical ability are variable things which are certainly not foreign to the historian's training and craft. Not only the historian but the citizen needs the present for the understanding of the past and the past for a comprehension of the present.

There is "just one science of men in time," and that is history.

ELMER LOUIS KAYSER

## AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Association publishes triennially the *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History in Progress or Completed at Colleges and Universities in the United States*. The *List* shows trends in research and serves to prevent duplication of work. The 1961 *List* was published last November and is available at Association headquarters for \$1.50. The Association maintains a current file of dissertations in progress, and forms for listing of topics have been distributed to departments offering the doctorate. Additional forms will be made available to departments or individuals upon request. Those listing titles of dissertations in progress should check previous *Lists* to prevent duplication. Walter Rundell, Jr., will edit the 1964 *List*.

The Service Center for Teachers of History now has forty-two titles in its pamphlet series designed to aid secondary school teachers. More than 430,000 copies have been distributed. A complete list of titles available may be obtained from the Service Center at 400 A Street S.E., Washington 3, D. C. Pamphlets which have appeared in the 1961-1962 series are: Keith B. Berwick, *The Federal Age, 1789-1829: America in the Process of Becoming*; Alfred G. Meyer, *Marxism Since the Communist Manifesto*; and Arthur P. Whitaker, *Latin American History Since 1825*. The Service Center continues to receive enthusiastic response from its participation in conferences and institutes in various parts of the country. Regrettably funds for these conferences are now exhausted.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held its 1961 meeting on August 29-31 at San Jose State College. Approximately 350 historians attended. For 1962 the Branch elected the following officers: Frederick H. Soward, University of British Columbia, President; Richard W. Van Alstyne, University of Southern California, Vice-President; John A. Schutz, Whittier College, Secretary-Treasurer; John W. Caughey, Managing Editor of the *Pacific Historical Review*; Theodore Saloutos, University of California, Los Angeles, Robert Wayne Smith, Oregon State University, Reynold M. Wik, Mills College, and Gerald Wheeler, San Jose State College, newly elected Council members. Paul W. Gates was given the Louis Knott Koontz Memorial Award for his article "California's Agricultural College Lands" (*Pacific Historical Review*, May 1961). The Pacific Coast Branch Award went to Walter Hugins for *Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class: A Study of the New York Workingmen's Movement, 1829-1837*. The 1962 meeting of the Branch will be held August 28-30 at Loyola University, Los Angeles.

## LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

Dr. Selman A. Waksman, microbiologist and discoverer of streptomycin, recently presented some twelve hundred of his personal papers to the Library of Congress. For the most part, they are composed of correspondence, which dates from 1916 to 1959, and they include letters from Dr. Jacques Loeb (whose papers are also in the Library), George W. Merck, Sir Alexander Fleming, Albert Einstein, Paul R. Burkholder, and René Jules Dubos. A typewritten transcript of Waksman's unpublished lectures and addresses is also among the papers.

The Naval Historical Foundation has enlarged its collection in the Library by depositing approximately 4,600 pieces to the papers of Captain Washington Irving Chambers, pioneer of naval aviation. This segment contains correspondence with inventors, manufacturers, leading figures in aviation, and others; like the main body of Chambers Papers, it also contains a number of reports, airplane logbooks, sketches, photographs, and related printed material. The recently acquired segment covers the period between 1910 and 1918, but falls mainly within the years 1911-1913, when Captain Chambers was in charge of aviation for the Navy Department.

Earlier manuscripts received by the Library include an orderly book kept by a member of the Sixth Connecticut Regiment at Cambridge, June 3-August 25, 1775, which was presented as a memorial to Samuel Avery Myers and Marjorie Barnes Myers by their daughters, and nine letters of James Monroe which were not previously represented in the Library's holdings.

An Inter-American Archival Seminar, sponsored by the National Archives in cooperation with the Rockefeller Foundation, the Pan American Union, and the Department of State, met in Washington, October 9-27, 1961. Forty leading archivists from seventeen Latin American countries attended. T. R. Schellenberg, Assistant Archivist for the National Archives, organized the seminar. The sessions were the first of their kind to be held in the Western Hemisphere. They provided Latin American archivists with an opportunity to discuss their own professional problems and to obtain firsthand information on archival principles and techniques used in the National Archives of the United States and in other Latin American archives.

In connection with the opening of the seminar for Latin American archivists, the National Archives published Volume I of the *Guide to Materials on Latin America in the National Archives*, by John P. Harrison. The volume covers the records of the State, Treasury, War, and Navy Departments and the "general" records of the government.

Among microfilm publications recently completed by the National Archives are Reports to Congress from the Secretary of War, 1803-1870 (5 rolls); Schedules of the Nebraska State Census of 1885 (56 rolls); two series of the War Department Collection of Confederate Records, the Records of the Louisiana State Government (24 rolls), and the "Union Provost Marshal's File" of One-Name Papers Relating to Citizens (300 rolls); Despatches Received by the Department of State from United States Consuls in Mexico City, 1822-1906 (15 rolls); and

other records of the Department of State relating to the following: Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1910-1929 (89 rolls); Internal Affairs of Serbia and Political Relations between the United States and Serbia, 1910-1929 (3 rolls); Internal Affairs of Yugoslavia, 1910-1929 (28 rolls); Political Relations between the United States and Russia and the Soviet Union, 1910-1929 (7 rolls); Political Relations between the United States and Yugoslavia, 1910-1929 (1 roll); and Political Relations between Yugoslavia and Other States, 1910-1929 (9 rolls).

On December 15, 1960, the Herbert Hoover Birthplace Foundation, Inc., under the provisions of the Federal Records Act of 1950, as amended, offered as a gift to the United States the Herbert Hoover Library then being built at West Branch, Iowa. At the same time the former President also offered his papers and other historical materials for deposit in the new library. These gifts have been accepted.

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library is expected to be dedicated on May 1, 1962. General Eisenhower will take part in the ceremony.

The Harry S. Truman Library has received additional papers of Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, covering his service as special counsel to Mr. Truman; the White House Bill File, consisting of recommendations by the Bureau of the Budget to the President on pending legislation; more than two hundred disks recording Truman speeches and events, donated by KCMO Broadcasting Corporation, Kansas City; and some three hundred photographs of Truman and persons and events related to him.

The first five-year cumulation of tables designed to enable users of the United States Statutes at Large to find the relation between new and old federal laws without time-consuming research is now available. Entitled *United States Statutes at Large, Tables of Laws Affected in Volumes 70-74*, the publication lists all earlier laws and other federal instruments that were amended, repealed, or otherwise patently affected by the provisions of public laws enacted during the years 1956-1960.

The first Truman volume of the *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, covering the period April 12-December 31, 1945, has been published. The 1954-1958 compilation of presidential documents published under Title 3 of the Code of Federal Regulations is scheduled for release in December 1961. This is the third five-year cumulation of presidential documents and includes the full text of all proclamations, executive orders, reorganization plans, and other presidential documents issued during the five-year period.

The Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Wilmington, Delaware, was dedicated October 7, 1961. At the dedication Paul H. Buck declared that the library contains the "greatest manuscript collection of a major business enterprise anywhere ever assembled . . . the family and business papers of the du Pont family. . . ." The library, whose head is Charles W. David, formerly director of libraries at the University of Pennsylvania, contains over one million manuscripts and forty thousand books.

The Hoover Institution, Stanford University, has obtained microfilm copies of more than eleven hundred documents describing internal history of Chinese



Communists in the early thirties. They will be available to other academic institutions.

Wilber M. Brucker, governor of Michigan from 1931 to 1932 and Secretary of the Army from 1955 to 1961, has presented twenty-two feet of correspondence, scrapbooks, tape recordings, and other papers to the Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan.

#### INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Since 1920 historians in Scandinavia have at somewhat regular intervals held a joint meeting ("Nordiskt Historiker-möte"). The twelfth such gathering met at Lund University, August 7-8, 1961; some 450 historians attended. The three morning sessions, plenary in scope, were concerned with medieval Scandinavian laws and legal concepts as historical sources, agrarian developments in the north during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and nationalism in Scandinavia after the 1850's.

The First International Congress for Napoleonic Studies will be held at Portoferraio, May 3-7, 1962. President of the organizing committee is Mario Bigotti.

The Second International Economic History Conference will be held in Aix-en-Provence, August 29-September 4, 1962. Further information may be obtained from P. Mathias, Hon. Sec., Queen's College, Cambridge, England.

An international bilingual congress on the Enlightenment, in the broadest sense, will be held July 4-12, 1963. Those interested in reading papers should get in touch with the Director, Institut et Musée Voltaire, Les Délices, Geneva, Switzerland.

#### GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

The Avalon Foundation has granted Columbia University \$27,500 to assemble, organize, and collate John Jay papers.

The Russian Research Center, Harvard University, has received \$25,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation for study of the history of American Communism.

For the completion of Lawrence Gipson's twelve-volume history of the British Empire before the American Revolution, Lehigh University has been given a grant of \$24,000 by the Rockefeller Foundation.

Among those receiving grants under the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt Acts for 1961-1962 are: *Lecturing*—Joseph O. Baylen (Wales), George Bearce, Jr. (India), Walter L. Berg (Spain), Alexander R. Butler (Finland), Foster Rhea Dulles (Japan), William B. Fink (Philippines), Marshall W. Fishwick (Germany), Kent Forster (Austria), Paul W. Glad (Germany), Irving Greenberg (Israel), C. Leonard Hoag (Korea), Shirley J. Lehmann (France), Richard P. McCormick

(England), Harold G. Marcus (Ethiopia), George H. Mayer (Malaya), Paul I. Miller (Ceylon), Arthur H. Moehlman (Germany), Franklin D. Parker (Peru), Richard F. Pattee (Portugal), William H. Pease (Denmark), Howard H. Quint (Italy), Philip L. Ralph (Turkey), Robert P. Sharkey (Germany), Ivor D. Spencer (Germany), John G. Sproat (Germany), Kenneth M. Stampp (England), Gerald Strauss (Ireland), Donald M. Street (Italy), Robert J. Taylor (Japan), Andrew J. Townsend (India), George M. Waller (England), Irvin G. Wyllie (Sweden). *Research*—Daniel Balmuth (Finland), Werner E. Braatz (Germany), Samuel C. Chu (Republic of China), Donald C. Cutter (Spain), John Hugh Hill (France), Jack D. L. Holmes (Spain), William A. Jenks (Austria), Maurice Lee, Jr. (England), Richard B. Morris (France), Joseph F. O'Callaghan (Spain), Burton Stein (India), Richard E. Sullivan (Belgium), C. Martin Wilbur (Republic of China).

The Rockefeller Foundation has given grants to the following historians for studies in legal and political philosophy: Joel Colton, Georg G. Iggers, Sydney W. Jackman, Adrienne Koch, Hans S. Reiss, Heinrich A. Rommen, Brian Tierney, and Kurt Wimer.

The Social Science Research Council has announced its 1962 program of fellowships and grants to advance research in the social sciences. These programs include Research Training Fellowships, Faculty Research Fellowships, Grants-in-Aid of Research, and grants for study in special areas and on special topics. Those interested should write to the SSRC, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

Adolf Gerd Korman has been awarded the State Historical Society of Wisconsin's David Clark Everest Prize of one thousand dollars for his manuscript "A Social History of Industrial Growth in Immigrants, with Particular Reference to Milwaukee, 1880-1920."

The Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration announces the availability of funds to aid archivists, librarians, and researchers interested in investigating topics in economic and business history or in studying the acquisition and handling of archival material, manuscripts, and books in the field. The requirements of individuals selected will determine the amount of aid. Inquiries may be addressed to Professor Ralph W. Hidy, Morgan 304, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, Soldiers Field, Boston 63, Massachusetts.

The Economic History Association is offering a biennial prize for the best unpublished manuscript in economic history. To be called the Edwin Francis Gay Memorial Prize in Economic History, the award will be in the amount of fifteen hundred dollars plus publication. Competition is open to American and Canadian scholars. Manuscripts should be sent to Professor Ralph W. Hidy, Secretary of the Economic History Association, Morgan Hall, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, Boston 63, Massachusetts, and must be received before July 15, 1962.

## PUBLICATIONS

On September 6, 1961, the President of the United States wrote the Secretary of State and other officials a letter concerning the *Foreign Relations* series. Three paragraphs of the letter follow:

The effectiveness of democracy as a form of government depends on an informed and intelligent citizenry. Nowhere is the making of choices more important than in foreign affairs; nowhere does government have a more imperative duty to make available as swiftly as possible all the facts required for intelligent decision.

In recent years the publication of the "Foreign Relations" series has fallen farther and farther behind currency. The lag has now reached approximately twenty years. I regard this as unfortunate and undesirable. It is the policy of this Administration to unfold the historical record as fast and as fully as is consistent with national security and with friendly relations with foreign nations.

Accordingly I herewith request all departments, agencies and libraries of the Government to collaborate actively and fully with the Department of State in its efforts to prepare and publish the record of our diplomacy. In my view, any official should have a clear and precise case involving the national interest before seeking to withhold from publication documents or papers fifteen or more years old.

Recent additions to the Department of State External Research Series are: no. 1.16, *USSR and Eastern Europe*; no. 2.16, *East Asia*; no. 3.16, *Southeast Asia*; no. 4.16, *South Asia*; no. 5.16, *Western Europe*; no. 6.16, *Middle East*; no. 7.16, *Africa*; no. 8.16, *American Republics*; no. 9.16, *British Commonwealth*; no. 10.16, *International Affairs*.

The fifth edition of *Fellowships in the Arts and Sciences*, by Michael E. Schiltz, recently appeared and may be purchased from the Association of American Colleges, Washington 6, D. C., for three dollars.

## OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

The twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists was held in Kansas City and Independence, Missouri, October 5-7. Officers for 1961-1962 are: President, Robert H. Bahmer; Vice-President, Leon deValinger, Jr.; Secretary, Dolores Renze; Treasurer, H. G. Jones; newly elected council member, Seymour Connor.

History department chairmen of the member institutions of the newly formed Mid-America State Universities Association met at the University of Nebraska, October 6-7, 1961, to initiate an inventory of regional resources and needs in history and to inform the association's executive committee of particular problems, resources, needs, conflicts, or areas of common interest where cooperation and coordination are possible and desirable.

On October 12-14, 1961, the Conference on the History of Western America was held in Santa Fe under the auspices of the Museum of New Mexico. This was

the first such meeting of western specialists since the 1929 Boulder conference. The group of 293 registrants voted to form a permanent organization and elected Ray A. Billington of Northwestern University the president pro tem and John Porter Bloom of the National Park Service secretary pro tem. The next annual meeting will be held in Denver in October 1962, with the University of Denver as the host institution. Robert G. Athearn of the University of Colorado is the program chairman.

The annual meeting of the Business History Conference will be held February 24, 1962, at Michigan State University. The theme of the conference will be "America as a Business Civilization."

The fifth annual Missouri Valley Conference of Collegiate Teachers of History will meet March 23-24, 1962, at the University of Omaha.

According to the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, there were 9,170 students enrolled for advanced degrees in history in the fall of 1960. Of these, 5,446 were first-year students, and 374 were in the terminal doctorate year.

## PERSONAL

### APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES\*

*University of Alabama:* Sarah van Woolfolk appointed instructor. *Andrews University:* Leif Kr. Tobiassen appointed professor. *University of Arizona:* James Donohoe promoted to associate professor; Thomas W. Parker appointed associate professor. *Arizona State University:* Donald J. Berthrong appointed visiting professor for the second semester. *Arkansas State College:* James E. Callo-way promoted to professor and named head of the social science department; J. E. Griner appointed to the staff. *Baylor University:* Paul T. Armistead appointed instructor; Max Welborn on leave for the year 1961-62. *Boston College:* Radu R. Florescu on leave for 1961-62. *Boston University:* Frank Nowak named professor emeritus; Herbert Moller promoted to professor, Ernest M. Law, to associate professor, Frederick S. Allen, to assistant professor; John McMaster and Irene Gendzier appointed instructor; Frederick S. Allen on leave for the academic year. *Bowdoin College:* John C. Rensenbrink appointed to the staff to replace George D. Bearce, who is on leave. *Brandeis University:* Merrill D. Peterson promoted to professor; Ramsay MacMullen appointed assistant professor; Leonard W. Levy on leave. *Bronx Community College:* Samuel D. Ehrenpreis appointed assistant professor, Moses C. Stambler, instructor in the social studies department. *Brooklyn College:* Hyman Kublin promoted to professor, Hans L. Trefousse, to associate professor, Abraham S. Eisenstadt, to assistant professor; Raymond de Roover appointed professor; Arnold R. Broggi on leave. *Bryn Mawr College:*

\* The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and extended leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session or completed temporary appointments, leaves of absence of less than a year, or honorary degrees and citations.

David Herlihy promoted to associate professor; Avery Andrews II and Jane Benjamin appointed instructor, Alan Silvera, lecturer; Mary Maples Dunn and David Herlihy on leave. *University of Buffalo*: Karel Hulička promoted to associate professor; Theodore Wood Friend III on leave for 1961-62; Raymond Chambers retired.

*University of California* (Berkeley): A. Hunter Dupree, Thomas S. Kuhn, and Nicholas V. Riasanovsky promoted to professor, Gene A. Brucker, to associate professor; Thomas Garden Barnes appointed assistant professor, Roger Hahn, instructor, Robert O. Paxton, acting instructor; George P. Hammond, Charles Jelavich, Adrienne Koch, Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, and Paul B. Schaeffer on leave. *University of California* (Davis): Walter L. Woodfill appointed professor, Rollie E. Poppino, assistant professor, Bertram D. Wolfe, visiting professor; C. B. O'Brien on leave. *University of California* (Santa Barbara): Henry M. Adams promoted to professor, George M. Haddad, to assistant professor; Alexander DeConde appointed professor, Thomas R. Metcalf, assistant professor, Edward Chmielewski and Samuel K. Eddy, acting assistant professor. *Central State College* (Oklahoma): Herman E. Fullgraf appointed associate professor. *University of Cincinnati*: George Engberg promoted to professor, Arnold Schrier, to associate professor, and Herbert Curry, to assistant professor; Ernest Muntz and Peter Topping appointed associate professor, A. Lloyd Moote and Vsevolod Slessarev, assistant professor. *City College of New York*: Arthur E. Tiedemann on leave. *Clark University*: Gerald N. Grob promoted to associate professor, Merritt Abrash, to assistant professor; Clifford K. Shipton appointed professor, Daniel R. Borg, instructor, and George H. Merriam, lecturer. *Coe College*: James Berquist appointed instructor; Paul Glad on leave. *Colgate University*: Raymond O. Rockwood named chairman of the department; Kent Kirby Kreuter and George Navarrete appointed instructor. *University of Colorado*: Vincent W. Beach promoted to professor, Walter G. Simon and Willard A. Fletcher, to associate professor; Howard L. Scamehorn and Charles L. Geddes appointed assistant professor, William R. Petrowski, instructor. *Colorado State University*: Bruce B. Frye named chairman of the department of history and political science; Paul H. Scherer appointed instructor. *Columbia University*: Henry F. Graff and Chilton Williamson promoted to professor, Ainslee Embree, to assistant professor; Lewis Hanke appointed professor, Peter Brock, associate professor, Zvi Ankori and David Brody, assistant professor, Orest A. Ranum, instructor, Maurice Levy-Leboyer, visiting professor, and Robert O. Collins, visiting assistant professor for the spring term, Eric Goldman and A. William Salomone, visiting professor for 1961-62; Richard B. Morris, Shepard B. Clough, William E. Leuchtenburg, and Sidney A. Burrell on leave; Frank Tannenbaum retired. *University of Connecticut*: James Mahoney promoted to assistant professor; A. William Høglund appointed assistant professor. *Dartmouth College*: Charles L. Hamilton and Robert G. Landen appointed assistant professor; David Roberts on leave; Albert L. Demaree retired. *University of Dayton*: George Ruppel and Raymond Maras appointed associate professor. *University of Denver*: Theodore Crane appointed assistant professor. *DePauw University*: Edward O'Day appointed instructor; John B. Wilson and Clifton J. Phillips on leave. *Dickinson College*: Flint Kellogg named chair-

man of the department. *Drexel Institute of Technology*: Russell Weigley and Samuel Osgood promoted to associate professor; Valentin Rabe appointed instructor. *Duke University*: John Tate Lanning named James B. Duke Professor of History; Ernest William Nelson promoted to professor, Robert F. Durden, to associate professor; Ira Gruber, Lynn L. Marshall, Donald G. Mathews, and Robert C. Walton appointed instructor, Richard A. Preston, visiting professor for the spring semester, Anne Scott, visiting assistant professor. *East Central State College* (Oklahoma): Bobby Quinten appointed instructor. *East Tennessee State College*: Frank B. Williams, Jr., named head of the department; D. E. Harrell appointed assistant professor, Hettie L. Ewalt, instructor. *Emory University*: J. Russell Major promoted to professor; Edwin H. Trainer appointed instructor, Koenraad W. Swart, visiting associate professor; J. Russell Major on leave.

*Fairleigh Dickinson University*: Kenneth M. MacKenzie named chairman of the social science department on the Rutherford Campus; Henry Frank and Annette Armstrong appointed to the staff; Kuan-I Chen on leave. *University of Florida*: Marvin Lee Entner appointed instructor. *Florida State University*: James P. Jones and William W. Rogers promoted to assistant professor; Donald D. Horward appointed instructor. *Fordham University*: Robert I. Giesberg appointed assistant professor, Robert F. Himmelberg, instructor; Joseph F. O'Callaghan on leave; Oscar Halecki retired. *Georgetown University*: W. Richard Walsh promoted to associate professor; Elspeth Rostow, Stjepan Gazi, and Barbara Welter appointed lecturer; J. Joseph Huthmacher on leave. *University of Georgia*: Kenneth Coleman promoted to associate professor, J. Douglas Smith, to assistant professor; John Oliver appointed associate professor. *Goucher College*: George Foote promoted to associate professor; Roy Gene Burns, Jr., appointed instructor; William L. Neumann on leave. *Harvard University*: Giles Constable promoted to associate professor; James B. Joll appointed visiting lecturer for the spring term; Franklin L. Ford, Richard Pipes, and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., on leave. *University of Hawaii*: Minoru Shinoda promoted to associate professor; Raymond Nunn appointed professor, Daniel Kwok, George Akita, and James McCutcheon, assistant professor. *Hobart and William Smith Colleges*: John R. Farnsworth named chairman of the department; Richard S. Schadt promoted to assistant professor; Walter Ralls appointed assistant professor. *Hofstra College*: John Marcus promoted to associate professor. *College of the Holy Cross* (Massachusetts): Warren Schiff appointed assistant professor, John B. Anderson, instructor. *University of Houston*: Robert Livingston Schuyler named M. D. Anderson Professor of History for the spring semester. *Huntington Library*: Allan Nevins named Harmsworth Professor, Oxford University, 1963-64. *Indiana University*: Orhan Koprlu appointed visiting associate professor; Robert H. Ferrell, Richard M. Dorson, Gerald Strauss, Leo F. Solt, and Robert E. Quirk on leave. *Department of the Interior*: Jerry A. O'Callaghan named assistant director for lands and minerals management in the Bureau of Land Management. *State University of Iowa*: Robert M. Kingdon and Allan G. Bogue promoted to professor, Hsin-pao Chang, to associate professor, Patrick L. Alston, to assistant professor; Ulrich Trumpener and Christopher Lasch appointed assistant professor, John Clifford, visiting lecturer.



*Johns Hopkins University*: Wilson Smith promoted to associate professor; Harry Woolf and David Donald appointed professor; Harry Woolf on leave. *University of Kansas*: James E. Seaver promoted to professor, Vaclav Mudroch, Charles F. Sidman, and Edgar B. Wickberg, to assistant professor; Aldon D. Bell appointed instructor; William Stuart Forth appointed associate director of libraries. *Kent State University*: Harold Schwartz and William F. Zornow promoted to associate professor; James K. Irikura and Coburn V. Graves appointed assistant professor. *Kenyon College*: Charles R. Ritcheson promoted to professor. *Knox College*: Mikiso Hane appointed assistant professor, Richard Kay and Hugh Boyle, instructor. *Lehigh University*: Joseph Albert Dowling promoted to associate professor; Raymond Gibson Cowherd on leave. *Library of Congress*: C. Carroll Hollis appointed manuscripts specialist in American cultural history in the Manuscript Division. *Lincoln University*: Marvin Wachman named president. *Long Island University*: Jerrold Atlas, Harriet Bjelovucic, Jack Gabel, Robert Gutchen, and Herbert Shapiro appointed to the staff; Milton M. Klein on leave. *Los Angeles State College*: Edward O. Guerrant promoted to professor, Kenneth J. Pratt, to associate professor; Arnold Pincus appointed assistant professor. *Louisiana State University*: Robert B. Holtman promoted to professor; Matthew T. Downey appointed instructor; Edwin A. Davis on leave. *Louisiana State University* (New Orleans): Stephen Ambrose promoted to assistant professor; Henry Huttenback appointed assistant professor, Gerald Bodet, instructor. *Loyola University*: John A. Kemp, S.J., promoted to professor, Raymond H. Schmandt, to associate professor; Arnold Daum and George Szemler appointed assistant professor; Louis V. Zabkar and John Reardon on leave. *McCormick Theological Seminary*: Gregory T. Armstrong appointed instructor. *McMaster University*: E. T. Salmon named principal of University College, to be replaced as head of the department by H. W. McCready. *University of Maine*: John W. Hakola promoted to assistant professor; Leslie E. Decker appointed assistant professor, William E. Larsen, Richard D. Sullivan, and Robert M. Whealey, instructor; George A. Billias on leave. *University of Massachusetts*: Robert A. Potash promoted to professor, Vincent Ilardi, to associate professor, Mario S. De Pillis and Franklin B. Wickwire, to assistant professor; Winfred E. A. Bernhard appointed assistant professor, Alice A. Guimond, Forrestt A. Miller, Paul M. Sonnino, and Norman Wilenski, instructor, John Teall, Arthur Mann, and David P. Leonard, visiting lecturers; Howard H. Quint, Robert A. Potash, Mario De Pillis, and Paul A. Gagnon on leave. *Memphis State University*: William R. Gillaspie, Lonnie J. White, James A. Hodges, and Betty C. Congelton appointed assistant professor, Mary P. Curry, instructor; J. H. Ellis on leave. *Miami University* (Ohio): Ronald E. Shaw promoted to associate professor; Brenton H. Smith and Ralph A. Stone appointed assistant professor; James H. St. John retired. *University of Michigan*: Dwight C. Long and Jacob M. Price promoted to associate professor; John B. Kelly and Melvin C. Shefftz appointed visiting lecturer, Sidney Harcave and Zafarul Islam, visiting professor for the second semester; Richard Soloway on leave; L. G. Vander Velde retired. *Michigan State University*: Richard E. Sullivan promoted to professor, Alvin C. Gluek, to associate professor, Thomas L. Bushell, to assistant professor; Marvin Cain appointed assistant professor and curator of history, James R. Hooker, assistant

professor, David Huyler, instructor; Arthur E. Adams and Richard E. Sullivan on leave. *Millsaps College*: William K. Scarborough appointed assistant professor. *University of Minnesota*: Burton Stein and William E. Wright promoted to associate professor, Josef L. Altholz and Darrett B. Rutman, to assistant professor; Otto Pflanze appointed professor, Timothy L. Smith, associate professor, Hyman Ber- man, assistant professor, Karl F. Morrison, instructor, Niharkana Majumdar and Jeanne C. Traphagen, visiting assistant professor; Clarke A. Chambers, Paul L. Murphy, and Burton Stein on leave. *Mississippi State University*: Harold S. Snell- grove named head of the department, replacing John K. Bettersworth, who was made vice-president for academic affairs; Warren F. Kuehl promoted to professor; Ray F. Broussard, Clifford B. Anderson, and Roy V. Scott, appointed assistant pro- fessor. *University of Missouri*: James L. Bugg, Jr., promoted to professor, Richard S. Kirkendall, to associate professor; Charles G. Nauert, Thomas S. Barrow, and William S. Allen appointed assistant professor; Roderick E. McGrew and Charles F. Mullett on leave. *Montana State University*: John E. Van de Wetering appointed assistant professor; Edward Earl Bennett retired.

*University of Nebraska*: E. David Cronon and Robert L. Koehl promoted to professor, William M. Bowsky and Robert Forster, to associate professor; Nels W. Forde and Don R. Gerlach appointed instructor; Robert K. Sakai on leave. *Uni- versity of Nevada*: Erwin Jaffe appointed assistant professor, John M. Born, Jack Edwards, and Stanley Pearl, instructor. *University of New Hampshire*: Robert C. Gilmore promoted to associate professor; Kurt Rosenbaum appointed instructor; Hans Heilbronner, Charles A. Jellison, and Philip M. Marston on leave. *Uni- versity of New Mexico*: William M. Dabney named assistant dean of the graduate school; Gerald Nash appointed visiting assistant professor. *New York University*: John E. Fagg named acting head of the department; Oscar J. Falnes, Ray W. Irwin, and Brooke Hindle promoted to professor; Thomas P. Goyan appointed visiting professor; Bayrd Still and Vincent P. Carosso on leave. *New York State Division of Archives and History*: Martin H. Bush appointed senior historian for 1961-62. *University of North Carolina*: J. Carlyle Sitterson named Kenan Professor, Carl H. Pegg, Distinguished Alumni Professor; Frank W. Ryan, Jr., promoted to associate professor, Peter F. Walker, to assistant professor; Douglas D. Hale appointed in- structor; Paul J. Pinckney and John E. Semonche appointed to the staff; Harold A. Bierck on leave. *University of North Dakota*: Playford V. Thorson appointed instructor. *Northern Illinois University*: Charles E. George appointed professor, John H. Collins, associate professor, Robert W. Schneider, John P. White, and David Wagner, assistant professor. *Occidental College*: Andrew F. Rolle named chairman of the department; Merlin Stonehouse appointed assistant professor. *Ohio University*: Robert L. Daniel and George H. Lobdell, Jr., promoted to as- sociate professor. *Ohio State University*: Harry L. Coles, Jr., promoted to profes- sor, R. Clayton Roberts, to associate professor; Ralph D. Gray, Vincent J. Knapp, Leon C. Soule, Alfred W. Crosby, and Lester H. Rifkin appointed instructor; Frank J. Pegues and Foster Rhea Dulles on leave. *University of Oklahoma*: Wil- liam R. Vizzard, Jr., appointed assistant professor, Bernard Finn, instructor; Duane H. D. Roller and William H. Maehl on leave. *Oklahoma State University*: Donald B. Cooper appointed assistant professor. *University of Oregon*: Paul Holbo

promoted to assistant professor; Arnold Paul appointed visiting assistant professor; Val Lorwin and Gustave Alef on leave.

*Pennsylvania State University*: Sanford H. Elwitt, John B. Frantz, William R. Johnson, Ronald W. Linker, and Robert E. Epler appointed instructor; Alexander Werth appointed distinguished visiting professor; Kent Forster on leave. *University of Pittsburgh*: Richard Hunt appointed assistant professor, Lionel Rothkrug, Richard Chu, and Carl Weiner, instructor; Leland Baldwin and Samuel C. Chu on leave. *Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn*: Harold I. Sharlin promoted to associate professor. *Princeton University*: Jerome Blum promoted to professor and named chairman of the department; William B. Catton promoted to assistant professor; Arno J. Mayer appointed associate professor, Daniel A. Baugh, Michael Gasster, Lawrence W. Levine, Lester K. Little, Walter M. Pintner, and Walter Struve, instructor, John Taylor, visiting lecturer for 1961-62; David D. Bien on leave; Dana G. Munro retired. *University of Puerto Rico*: Thomas Mathews named director of the Institute of Caribbean Studies. *Purdue University*: Walter O. Forster named head of the department. *University of Rhode Island*: Milton Klein appointed instructor. *Rhode Island College*: Norman H. Cooke appointed assistant professor, Young Park, instructor. *University of Richmond*: James A. Moncure promoted to associate professor; Joseph C. Robert appointed professor, Richard Barry Westin, instructor. *University of Rochester*: Mason Wade promoted to professor; Milton Berman appointed assistant professor, J. Alexis Fenton, visiting professor for 1961-62; Hayden V. White and John B. Christopher on leave. *Rutgers University*: Traian Stoianovich and Donald Weinstein promoted to associate professor; Richard McCormick on leave. *Saint Louis University*: Jasper W. Cross promoted to professor. *School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University*: Philip B. Taylor appointed associate professor. *Smith College*: Helen Stokes appointed instructor. *University of South Carolina*: Bradley D. Bargar and Richard H. Chowen promoted to associate professor, Jack M. Thompson, to assistant professor; Frederick O. Behrends appointed assistant professor, Avery O. Craven and J. Steven Watson, visiting professor. *University of Southern California*: Donald C. Cutter promoted to professor, Joseph Boskin, to assistant professor; Thomas W. Africa appointed assistant professor, Robert A. Wohl, instructor, William P. Vaughn, visiting instructor; Russell L. Caldwell and Donald C. Cutter on leave. *Southern Illinois University*: James M. Haas appointed assistant professor, Sidney L. Cohen, instructor. *University of Southwestern Louisiana*: William H. Adams promoted to associate professor; Robert W. Brockway appointed assistant professor, Craig A. Newton and Richard G. Neiheisel, instructor, John P. Wittenberg, temporary instructor; Sylvester J. Hemleben on leave. *Stanford University*: Gavin I. Langmuir promoted to associate professor, Rodney G. Minott, to acting assistant professor; Robert B. Armeson, Pierre H. Boule, Margot Drekmeier, Thomas C. Kennedy, Richard F. Kuisel, Peter J. Larmour, Theodore K. Rabb, Richard L. Rapson, and Lawrence Walker appointed instructor, Peter Christoff, visiting professor; Claude A. Buss and Anatole G. Mazour on leave. *Stanislaus State College*: John E. Caswell promoted to professor and named dean of instruction. *Department of State Historical Office*: Leonard Gordon and Evans Gerakas appointed diplomatic historians. *University of Tennessee*: Galen Broecker promoted to associate

professor; John E. Baird and Eva Mary Stone appointed instructor; Roland Duncan on leave. *University of Texas*: Thomas F. McGann, J. Harry Bennett, and George G. Arnakis promoted to professor, Robert A. Divine and David D. Van Tassel, to associate professor; H. Wayne Morgan and James Chase appointed instructor, Thomas Perkins Abernethy, Wilfred H. Callcott, and Thomas R. Havins, visiting professor. *Texas Technological College*: David M. Vigness promoted to professor and named head of the department; Lawrence L. Graves and Thomas G. Manning promoted to professor; Van Mitchell Smith on leave. *Tift College* (Georgia): Carey T. Vinzant named Sam H. Frank Professor of History and chairman of the department, replacing Percy B. Caley, who is retiring. *Vanderbilt University*: Charles F. Delzell and Dewey W. Grantham promoted to professor, Frederick D. Schneider, to associate professor. *Vassar College*: Clyde Griffen promoted to assistant professor; Rhoda Rappaport appointed instructor. *University of Vermont*: Robert V. Daniels promoted to associate professor; Samuel Hand appointed instructor. *Villanova University*: Henry L. Rofinot named acting chairman of the department, replacing Harold F. Hartmen, who was appointed associate dean of the college of arts and sciences; Hafeez Malik appointed assistant professor; Fred J. Khouri and Alexander Rudhart on leave. *University of Virginia*: David Underdown appointed associate professor, Everett U. Crosby, visiting assistant professor. *Virginia Military Institute*: James R. Connor on leave for two years to serve as assistant director of the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies. *Wake Forest College*: James Edwin Hendricks and Clarke W. Garrett appointed assistant professor, Richard C. Barnett, instructor. *University of Washington*: Gordon Griffiths named acting executive officer; Fred J. Levy and Frank R. Willis promoted to assistant professor; Jon M. Bridgman appointed assistant professor. *Washington State University*: G. A. Frykman promoted to associate professor and named assistant to the dean of the graduate school; Samuel C. Kinser promoted to assistant professor; Elmo R. Richardson appointed assistant professor, Edward M. Bennett and Frederick Dumin, instructor. *Washington University* (St. Louis): Richard W. Wade appointed professor, Solon Beinfeld, assistant professor; Dietrich Gerhard, Peter J. Coleman, and Peter T. Cominos on leave. *Wayne State University*: Edward Lurie and Finley Hooper promoted to associate professor; Lee Benson appointed associate professor, Hans Tutsch, visiting professor; Edward Lurie on leave. *Wellesley College*: Edward V. Gulick promoted to professor, Alice B. Colburn, to associate professor, Eugene L. Cox and Warren W. Wagar, to assistant professor; Laura Bornholdt appointed associate professor and named dean of the college; Dorothy Marshall appointed visiting lecturer; Alice B. Colburn on leave. *West Chester State College*: Robert E. Carlson appointed professor. *West Texas State College*: Duane F. Guy and John K. Kahler promoted to assistant professor; Kirk Kite and Graham Shanks appointed instructor. *University of Wichita*: J. K. Sowards promoted to associate professor and named acting chairman of the department; Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., appointed assistant professor, Willard L. Hoing, instructor; Robert W. Frazer on leave. *College of William and Mary*: Bruce T. McCully promoted to professor, Ludwell H. Johnson, to associate professor; William L. Blackwell appointed assistant professor, Winthrop Jordan, instructor, Jack P. Greene, visiting associate professor; L. W. Towner on leave.

*Williams College*: Frederick Rudolph promoted to professor, Robert O. Collins, to lecturer; Arthur Zilversmit and Robert S. Fraser appointed instructor, Francis Oakley, lecturer. *University of Wisconsin*: Eugene P. Boardman, Philip D. Curtin, Rondo E. Cameron, and Theodore S. Hamerow promoted to professor; Joseph A. Ernst appointed instructor, William R. Hughes, acting instructor. *College of Wooster*: James Tague and Floyd Watts appointed instructor; Mrs. Ernest Osgood on leave. *Yale University*: Robert S. Lopez named Durfee Professor of History; Leonard Krieger promoted to professor, Firuz Kazemzadeh and Robin W. Winks, to associate professor, Ivo J. Lederer, Lawrence W. Chisolm, Martin B. Duberman, and Harry A. Miskimin, to assistant professor; G. Gaddis Smith appointed assistant professor, Brooks M. Kelley, Raymond F. Kierstead, Isabel F. Knight, Norman Pollack, and Calvin Woodard, instructor, Richard Lowitt and Elting E. Morison, visiting lecturer; William H. Dunham, Erwin R. Goodenough, Hajo Holborn, C. Vann Woodward, Harry J. Benda, Archibald S. Foord, Howard R. Lamar, Hartley Simpson, Ivo J. Lederer, Lawrence W. Chisolm, Martin B. Duberman, and Henry A. Turner, Jr., on leave; Ralph E. Turner retired.

#### RECENT DEATHS

Sir Charles Kingsley Webster, who died in London on August 22, 1961, at the age of seventy-five, was one of the most distinguished British historians of our time. His principal studies, *The Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815* (1919), *British Diplomacy, 1813-1815* (1921), *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1815-1822* (1925), *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1812-1815* (1931), *Britain and the Independence of Latin America* (1938), and *The Foreign Policy of Palmerston, 1830-1941* (1951), are models of research and presentation, well known to students of diplomatic history. At the time of his death he was engaged in completing a history of the RAF Bomber Command's strategic offensive against Germany. His articles and essays on diplomatic subjects are too numerous to list. Webster held many academic posts at Aberysthwyth, Harvard, the London School of Economics, and elsewhere; he was a renowned lecturer and a hard driver of his students, many of whom he made into excellent historians.

Webster was often employed by the British government on diplomatic missions: at the Peace Conference of Paris in 1919 (of which he used to tell many diverting stories): at the British Library of Information in New York during the last war, at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and at the San Francisco UNCIO Conference, at the Preparatory Commission and the General Assembly of the United Nations, and at UNESCO (twice). Although not trained in diplomacy, he showed a considerable gift for it; his vast historical knowledge and experience prevented him from taking a stuffy national attitude, and he was adept at providing compromises. In spite of his enjoyment of these "extra tours," he remained devoted to history as his life work.

For some years after his retirement as professor, Sir Charles was president of the British Academy, a society of distinguished scholars who have to be handled with finesse, and he did this very well. For some years he served as a member of the Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences (he at-

tended every Congress from 1913 to 1960), where his wisdom always showed to great advantage. Owing to the sudden death of President Chabod shortly before the Eleventh Congress, Webster was called on to serve as acting president, and he presided over the formal sessions with that suavity and humor which the British, better than any other, exhibit on such occasions; at the same time, in the prosaic sessions devoted to historical papers, he showed himself a devastating critic of careless work or doubtful theses. He was an honorary member of the American Historical Association.

Those who knew Charles Webster found him a stimulating companion and a devoted friend. A delightful picture of him was presented by John Edwin Fagg in *Some 20th Century Historians* (1961). Historical scholarship and Anglo-American relations will both be poorer for the passing of Sir Charles Webster.

Wilbur Henry Siebert, professor emeritus of history at Ohio State University, where he began his teaching career in 1891, died September 2, at the age of ninety-five. His publications include *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (1898) and *History of the Ohio State University* (1920-59). As a result of his achievements, he was elected as a fellow of the Royal Historical Society and of the Institut Historique et Heraldique.

Clarence E. Carter, distinguished American historian and staff member of the National Archives, died September 11. Born in Jacksonville, Illinois, on February 6, 1881, Dr. Carter received his doctor's degree from the University of Illinois in 1908. From 1908 to 1931 he taught history, most of these years at Miami University. His *Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1736-1744*, won the American Historical Association's Justin Winsor Prize in 1908. With C. W. Alvord, he edited the two-volume *Correspondence of General Gage* and several other documentary publications.

In 1931 he began for the State Department his distinguished work as editor of the *Territorial Papers of the United States*, a publication authorized by an act of Congress. In 1950 the project was transferred to the National Archives, where Dr. Carter continued the task of finding, arranging, transcribing, and editing the *Territorial Papers* for publication. Twenty-five volumes of this monumental work now document the federal administration of affairs in eleven territories. At the time of his death, Dr. Carter was engaged in seeing through the press the twenty-sixth volume, dealing with the Florida Territory, and in gathering material for Wisconsin and Iowa.

Carter served as a president of both the Ohio Valley and the Mississippi Valley Historical Associations and was elected a fellow of the Royal Historical Society. He received honorary degrees from Illinois College, Bucknell University, and Miami University.

Wesley Marsh Gewehr, professor emeritus of history at the University of Maryland, died September 20, at the age of seventy-three. A native of Chicago, he received his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees at the University of Chicago. His teaching career spanned nearly half a century and included professorships and



chairmanships at Denison University, American University, and the University of Maryland, from which he retired in 1958. A vigorous and inspiring teacher of both graduates and undergraduates, he was also a productive scholar. His *Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790* (1930), was scheduled for its third printing at the time of the author's death. He was the coauthor with Ferdinand Schevill of *A History of the Balkan Peninsula*, and the author of *The Rise of Nationalism in the Balkans, 1800-1930*.

Wallace Everett Caldwell, well-known historian and Masonic leader, died in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, October 6. Receiving the Ph.D. degree from Columbia University in 1919, he taught at private academies in New York and Pennsylvania, at Indiana University, and at Columbia University. Professor of ancient history at the University of North Carolina since 1921, he served as chairman of the department of history from 1951 to 1953. He was the author of *The Ancient World*, three other books, and numerous articles on ancient history.

#### COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

We thank Nevill Barbour for his gracious recommendation of *Ordeal in Algeria* (AHR, LXVI [July 1961], 1030) as "the best general account that has yet appeared of events in Algeria since 1954." It is unfortunate that we did not have the opportunity to read the book he edited for Oxford University Press on the Maghrib until this last spring. Had we read that fine survey of Northwest Africa we surely would have avoided certain errors of fact and judgment in our brief introductory statement.

Since he found all but the first thirteen pages "generally excellent," and the book is some 453 pages long, it is a bit disappointing to us that his review did not dwell more heavily on our development of the Algerian problem, our fears and hopes about its solution. We are aware, of course, of the conflicting statistics bearing upon population, casualties, refugees, and regrouped Moslems published by the various French and Algerian sources. We tried to make clear our awareness of this "numbers game" by such statements as the one on top of page thirteen which reads: "French sources tell us that approximately 9,000,000 Muslims, most of whom are of Berber origin with the remainder largely Arabic, cohabit Algeria with 1,200,000 Christian Europeans. . . . Algerian nationalist spokesmen place the Muslim population at 10,000,000 and reduce Europeans, usually by not counting French armed forces, to 850,000 persons." We do not accept the French figures, or the Algerian figures, for that matter, as being absolutely accurate. And at this point there are no trustworthy statistics since both sides are changing rapidly—the Algerian dying and birthing fast as a result of war and galloping population, and the European rather stable as to birthrate but high in migration figures. If we later used the nine million to one million thesis, we were always mentally including the French armed forces which have become, unfortunately, a semipermanent part of the Algerian scene.

We cannot work up a serious frown over the slight dissimilarity in our translations of the word "Sahara," nor do we feel that documents cannot be considered valuable because they contain misspelled names. We have seen many Algerian documents of the revolutionary period, all in French, by the way, which list the names of ministers, army officers, and FLN personnel without a careful standardization of name spelling. We can think of about four spellings for Mohammed and the same number for Abdel Kadir. We rather share T. H. Lawrence's view on the matter of spelling of Arab names and feel that until the Algerians themselves worry about this that we cannot, at least too seriously.

Our 14 per cent Jews (page 40) is obviously in error, and we thank him for calling it to our attention. The Jews total some 1.4 per cent of the whole population, and about 14 per cent of the European or non-Moslem population.

Though he mentioned our largely French documentation, much of it comes from Algerian sources. In fact, French, not Arabic, is the language of the Algerian rebellion. We found orders in Arabic only at a quite low level. For instance, army orders from a lieutenant to his squad of men, or reports from one sector to another of the front. It might please Mr. Barbour to learn that the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic has a *Centre de Documents* under Dr. Pierre Chaulet at 23 Av. Bab Djedid in Tunis. Among some 200 books on the subject, or related ones, some 90 per cent are in French. Chaulet is anxious to receive books from the West bearing upon the Maghrib, Africa, and the Tiers Monde. Barbour's book on the Maghrib should most certainly be among them.

If another printing of *Ordeal in Algeria* should be forthcoming, we shall be certain to incorporate his valuable suggestions and corrections. Any favorable notice that the Algerian problem receives in this Western world, so conscious of France and NATO and so little conscious of the needs and growth of North Africa, seems to us to be as valuable as it is rare.

*Evanston, Illinois*

RICHARD AND JOAN BRACE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

When a book is in general good, it is surely more than ever the duty of the reviewer to call attention to imperfections which, in his opinion, call for correction. As to population statistics, accurate figures are of course impossible in the circumstances of Algeria. It was, however, I believe, safe to estimate, at the time concerned, that the total population was between 9,500,000 and 10,000,000 and the non-Moslem population about 1,000,000, of whom some 150,000 were Jews, mostly established in the country for centuries, while only the remaining 850,000 were of European descent. In addition, from 1956, there was a French army of some 350,000. These basic estimates did not seem to be made clear to the reader.

Arabic names can indeed be transcribed in many different ways. Personally, in books intended for the general reader, I find it best to use the form which the owner of the name himself adopts, even if it is scientifically imperfect. "Boulabib" is however not a possible transcript of the Arabic original "Bouabid" but of a different Arabic name, and I still think that a writer who is so careless over the name of one of the best-known personalities in North Africa, mentioned almost daily

in the French press, is likely to be careless also in the presentation of other matters. I still feel, too (and all the more for their defense of "Boulabib"), that the authors are more at home with French people than they are with Moslem Arabs.

*South Newington, Oxon, England*

NEVILL BARBOUR

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I should like to comment on some of the points made by Professor Whitelock in her review of my *Land Tenure in Early England* (*AHR*, LXVI [July 1961], 1009). I should prefer to have avoided anything other than the simple exchange of arguments usual in scholarly controversy. Unfortunately the character of Dr. Whitelock's strictures makes this impossible. For the most part she does not argue. Instead she accuses me of error, supporting her accusations by comments so allusive that only a reader familiar with the texts in question could know what she would be at. I can only say here that I must plead guilty to no more than three of her accusations: a mistranslation of Bede which amounts to a misplaced apostrophe; the attribution of a passage in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to Archbishop Wulfstan; and a mistake involving BCS 847. None of these points makes any serious difference to my thesis. For the rest, I venture to think that if my text is compared with the sources I shall be allowed to stand by what I said. But there are other features of Dr. Whitelock's review which call for comment.

She confines her remarks almost wholly to some sections of the first three chapters of the book; she does not attempt to state the argument even of these chapters. In support of her allegations of my offensive and overweening tone, she quotes me as saying that my evidence is "fully, accurately, and impartially stated." I think the quotation is hers, not mine. Of the part of the book she chooses to notice, I actually wrote: "I do not wish to claim too much for my thesis. It cannot be called more than plausible, since the evidence is scanty." She says I have misunderstood BCS 332 "where Offa took objection to King Ecgberht's grant to Aldhun, not to Aldhun's grant to Canterbury." I wrote: "Offa, at that time overlord of Kent, quashed this book 'quasi non liceret Ecgberhto agros hereditarie jure scribere.'" Where is the misunderstanding? I am supposed to have overlooked Ealdorman Ælfred's prayer for a nearer male heir in my discussion of his will. I am arguing at this point that Ealdorman Ælfred's extant son, Æthelwald, was illegitimate. For the sake of my thesis I could wish he were not, but I had to admit that Maitland, Stenton, and Dr. Whitelock were right. Æthelwald was a bastard. The only novelty in my treatment of the question was that noticing Chadwick had defended Æthelwald's legitimacy I thought his arguments were worth answering. Like my predecessors, with the exception of Dr. Whitelock herself, I ignored the Ealdorman's "prayer": perhaps we were not so sure as she seems to be of what he meant. Even if, however, we take it at its face value it only proves my point beyond question. Why then drag it in? She writes: "A serious error is his inclusion among the estates that made up the hundred of Oswaldslow of what he calls a grant of Bredon by Offa to Worcester, when it is a grant of land at three places not in Oswaldslow to the monastery at Bredon." It is certain that an estate called Bredon formed part of Oswaldslow and had been held by the church of

Worcester before that liberty was created in 964. I looked for the early land book relating to Bredon and with inexcusable carelessness identified it as BCS 847 instead of referring to the traces of the lost charter recorded in Dr. Finberg's *Early Charters of the West Midlands*, number 208. I never said, or implied, that the places listed in BCS 847 formed part of Oswaldslow; what is more, the substitution of the correct reference in the text makes no difference to the argument. It was right of Dr. Whitelock to point out my mistake; it was unnecessary to aggravate it by misrepresentation. On the subject of mistakes, she does not mention that my book contains several serious criticisms of her own published work to which she makes no answer.

I have engaged in this controversy with regret, the more so because I am deeply conscious of my debt to Dr. Whitelock's edition of the Anglo-Saxon Wills and her splendid collection, *English Historical Documents*, even if I must sometimes disagree with her on particular points. It is sad when an honest, if inadequate, attempt to discuss issues of great importance is dismissed so unjustly and some criticism of the "well-founded conclusions of sound scholars," that is, Dr. Whitelock and her friends, is equated with *lèse majesté*.

University of Manchester

ERIC JOHN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

You have kindly allowed me to see Mr. John's reply to my review. I wish to offer my sincere apologies for attributing to him in my first paragraph a claim which he had not made. My error arose in the process of cutting, and the words were part of a comment on his claim on page forty-nine that his thesis interprets the charters "more consistently and fully than its rivals." I wish also to explain that in the short space allowed me it was impossible to do more than give a sample of the types of false assumptions and errors which vitiate his arguments. It would have required a long review to demonstrate why I am equally unconvinced by his arguments in the later part of the book, for example, by his attempt to prove a genuine base for BCS 1135 or by his rejection in Appendix II of the view that English royal diplomas were evidentiary documents.

The three errors which he admits are of far greater consequence than he appears to realize. We should have to revise the whole picture of Northumbrian society if Bede had said that *famuli* of the king's thegns were setting up false monasteries; Bede says *famuli* of the king, and "hangers-on" is not a legitimate rendering of the term. Secondly, it is from the irrelevant charter (BCS 234 and 847) that Mr. John has taken the figure of 20 hides necessary for the neat sum on page 114, on which further arguments are based. There may be others besides myself who feel that his third error, the wrong attribution (page ninety-six) of an encomium on Edgar to the statesman Archbishop Wulfstan, is not negligible.

Since Mr. John does not admit the justice of any of my other objections, one can only suppose that he considers it a legitimate procedure, when discussing the Wasingwell charter which is crucial for his argument, to fail to mention the clause on which the opposing view is chiefly based. I was fully aware that he quoted BCS 332 correctly; my point is that his conclusion is not supported by this quotation. If

in regard to the Will of the Ealdorman Alfred he had noticed that the testator says, "If Almighty God . . . shall grant me . . . that a nearer male heir shall be born to me," he could have dispensed with a long note on page sixteen; these are not the words of a man already blessed with a legitimate son.

In a short review, I did not choose to take up space with defense of my own views. I did, however, reaffirm my belief that my interpretation of BCS 241 is the natural one. Mr. John offers no explanation of how the church of Worcester came to be in wrongful possession of the estates of a powerful king like Æthelbald. It can hardly have usurped them. It is, therefore, a reasonable assumption that it held them by his gift, and that what Offa is calling in question is his predecessor's right to alienate them. Other criticisms of my views do not affect the main theme; but I may say that his note on page 102, on the provenance of the D version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, does not state fully the evidence for York; nor does it seem likely to me that, if Archbishop Ælfric's gift to the king of a ship and equipment was part of his heriot (see note on page 125), he should refrain from mentioning at this point that a sum of money was necessary to complete his obligation.

Mr. John's book attacks the views of some sound scholars, past and present, whom I have never had the honor of numbering among my friends. I have no wish to defend untenable views, but merely to make a claim for the proper use of evidence. Mr. John suggests that a comparison with the sources will vindicate his use of them. I am content to leave it at that, for the purpose of my review was to direct scholars back to the sources of evidence.

*Cambridge University*

DOROTHY WHITELOCK

#### TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mrs. Corinne L. Gilb's call for gathering, weighing, and utilizing data about the historian's bias and his personal and environmental background in her article, "Should We Learn More About Ourselves?" (*AHR*, LXVI [July 1961], 987-93), is most timely in my (biased) view.

I have been fascinated by the bias reflected in the writings and activities of immigrant or ethnic historical societies since I first tackled the problems of historiography in one of Dr. Thomas C. Cochran's seminars at the University of Pennsylvania. The publications of these groups, organized on a national scale by Irish, Jews, Germans, Scotch-Irish, and others, obviously claim too much and display extreme partiality toward historical "contributions" of members of their ethnic or religious group. In the long run, however, this antidefamation history was not only a needed corrective for the Anglo-Saxon view of United States history, but also reflected its own brand of history-as-ideology.

I should like to see these filiopietistic texts, now usually slumbering in the stacks, pages often uncut, used in the training of history teachers and historians because they exemplify so well the connection between the social and intellectual conditions which produced this history and the anxieties or ideologies of its backers and writers.

My own studies of immigrant historical societies organized before 1910 suggest

that they were used as tools by leaders of ethnic groups attempting to build self-respect in the ethnic group, to influence social, religious, and political issues of the day, and to challenge professional, academic interpretations of American history.

For instance, the early work of the American Jewish Historical Society is largely an attempt to refute arguments, current in the immigration restrictionist controversy of the 1880's and 1890's, that American Jews were "merely" immigrants and had had no share in the formative, colonial period of the Republic. The American Irish Historical Society, as Professor Wittke has pointed out in his book on the Irish in America, for years neglected the Irish laborer in its writings because its leaders wished to show that Irishmen in America did not "wear red whiskers and carry hods." Its founding was part of a reaction, by New England and New York Irish leaders, to the anti-Catholic agitation of the early and middle 1890's. Like writers for the *Publications* of the American Jewish Historical Society, contributors to the *Journals* of the Irish society attacked the theories of such academic, old-stock Protestant historians as Goldwin Smith, John W. Burgess, and others.

I am still wrestling with the problem of the motivations of some important backers of the Scotch-Irish Society of America and its *Proceedings*. Much needed evidence seems to have been irretrievably lost, but what I have found provides a few thin clues to suggest that leaders of the Scotch-Irish Society were trying to differentiate between their Protestant group and the Catholic or Celtic Irish.

Ethnically oriented American history should also be studied with an awareness of the European connections of its writers and promoters. Since a good reading knowledge of a language other than English is required for such researches, graduate students may be able to make meaningful use of the language competence which now so often is expended on the passing of an examination and then lies fallow. To what extent, for instance, may we see the institutionalized interest in the Scotch-Irish not only as a determined attempt to differentiate between Catholic and Protestant ("old" and "new") immigrants, but also as a facet of the Home Rule for Ireland controversy then filling the columns of newspapers in England, Ireland, Canada, and the United States? Or to what extent was the interest of Swedish consuls in the earliest efforts to found Swedish-American historical societies influenced by directives from Sweden to maintain the Swedish language and Swedish national feeling among Scandinavian immigrants in the United States?

I have tried to indicate some of the opportunities opened up by Mrs. Gilb's call for probing the motives of groups and individuals promoting historical studies and determining their content and emphases. Work in progress by Professor David D. Van Tassel of the University of Texas (a history of the American Historical Association) and Mr. Walter Muir Whitehill of the Boston Athenæum (independent historical societies) promises that we will soon have more studies of this kind.

I think that despite obvious dangers lurking in this approach, studies of the personality traits, of the attitudes and value judgments of individuals, and of the influence of groups and institutions in shaping American historiography will reveal many avenues for new interpretations and lend substance to the classroom and seminar study of historiography and the philosophy of history.

Essex Community College

JOHN J. APPEL



TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Before undertaking an analysis of historians as a group such as Mrs. Gilb suggests, there should be an understanding, even if only a tentative one, of why such an analysis is being made. She suggests that it might be used in grappling "with the problem of attaining objectivity" or "as a first step toward a richer union of scientific study and human art." If we accept either of these suggestions (or agree to some other), we should ask ourselves how the proposed analysis might contribute to the attainment of the end. Without settling the manner in which a contribution would be made, my own reaction would be that whatever it was it would be rather limited.

A simple statistical survey of the economic, ethnic, social, and religious background of historians would give us only a superficial view of the composition of the profession. Undoubtedly certain imbalances would be revealed, but the effect of these imbalances on historiography in the United States could not be determined by such a survey. The questions which might be most revealing probably could not be handled in the survey.

This suggests that psychological studies of "motivations, value judgments, personality traits, attitudes, and working patterns of individual historians are perhaps needed." These factors will be of importance in determining the results of a given historian's work, but their importance is, I believe, individual. Even if a historian influences others (certainly a desirable situation), that influence eventually will be reflected in the work of the individuals so affected and thus may be considered in the examination of their own judgments and attitudes. In considering these factors in relation to an individual's work, there are two areas for examination: his writing and his teaching. In both of these areas the "objectivity" of the individual can be and is now judged without the aid of psychological studies, and it is far better that judgments are made in historical and scholarly terms rather than in psychological ones.

Could individual analyses help to correct the lack of total objectivity? Obviously there are individuals who operate from predetermined theses and use sources and facts as a potter would use clay. They are aware of what they are doing and so would not be the wiser. Others are completely honest in believing in their objectivity, and they may well be correct. New evidence, not self-analysis, would seem to be the proper way to make them more objective if that is necessary.

I have been arguing from the premise that the importance of the factors which would be examined in a psychological study is individual. I believe this is so because the problem of attaining objectivity is an individual one. In fact I would prefer to regard the problem as one of intellectual honesty. The adage "Know thyself" is certainly valid, but for historians as individuals, not as a group. The relationship between historians is basically educative, both in terms of intellectual stimulation and in terms of methodological instruction. The former, again, is an individual matter; in so far as the latter is a group matter, the type of analysis which would be of greatest value apparently has been done, at least in part—here I refer to the volume, *The Education of Historians in the United States*.

Western Maryland College

WILLIAM J. MCGILL, JR.

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

When I began to read Mrs. Gilb's article in the July 1961 issue of the *Review*, its provocative title led me to expect another attempt at the nature of history itself, and how it conditions the attitudes of those who call themselves historians, such as "Clio and other essays."

I enjoy such efforts. I was preparing to enjoy this one when I was brought up short by the suggestion that "the economic, ethnic, social, and religious backgrounds of . . . those who teach and write history" may conceivably "condition" their interpretation of it. By "the writing of history" Mrs. Gilb means, of course, the production of monographs, supermonographs ("standard works"), and bread-and-butter textbooks. The credit of writing *a history* belongs almost exclusively to amateurs like Thucydides, Gibbon, and Winston Churchill. The distinction is important, for surely the "backgrounds" of such gentry have been subjected to the most searching analysis. So we professionals must now undergo a like inquisition? Very well, it must be done. I blush that Mrs. Gilb should have been the first to propose so obvious and so just an undertaking.

Before I resign myself to the deadly questionnaire, however, I take heart from her remark that there are "limitations to the insights that can be derived from survey research." Perhaps, she suggests, the testimony of "individual historians" should be heard. I proffer my testimony in the form of a caveat, as Toynbee would say.

"Too little is known in empirical terms," says Mrs. Gilb, "about those who profess history . . . and what influences condition their views." Now "empirical" means "relying on experience," whatever other sense it may include. What, out of the experience of every one who professes to be a historian, bears on the point raised by Mrs. Gilb? Two things. Two very big things: the spell of the past and a dedication to the truth.

Historians practice a discipline which is absolutely unique in that it has been, for over 2,400 years, a specific literary art form. But for Ranke, who worked only a century ago, it would never have become a discipline at all. The long history of history, stretching back to the Father of History who gave us our very name, has made it inevitable that everyone who claims this name shall have been enraptured by the past. The great Thucydides, though he claimed it was otherwise with him ("Former ages were not great in their wars nor anything else"), could hardly have hoped that his work would be "a possession forever" if posterity should confine their interest to the contemporary. *Pace* Thucydides, he has long since become an "ancient." The spell of the past is upon us as historians, and this is an almost infallible sign by which we may be recognized. The spell of the past fashioned Toynbee, as it did Gibbon and Ranke before him. Why do those of us who most savagely criticize Toynbee nevertheless bow down, if not grovel, before his vast erudition? This erudition is manifestly of the past. It never even occurs to a historian that such erudition may be useless. In fact the more remote and exotic the era in which Toynbee displays his learning, the more we admire it. We take the past seriously, and we are about the only schoolmen left who do.

It is the undying contribution of Ranke that he dedicated historians to the

truth. G. P. Gooch reminds us that: "in one of the precious fragments dictated in old age Ranke declared that his discovery of the difference in the portraits of Louis XI and Charles The Bold in 'Quentin Durward' and in Commynes constituted an epoch in his life. 'I found by comparison [said Ranke] that the truth was more interesting and beautiful than the romance.'" What historian does not feel the same whenever he reads almost any "historical" novel, or sees a "costume" movie? It was, in Ranke's testimony, this simple bias in favor of the truth, which would have delighted Socrates, that has sent several generations of historians burrowing into musty archives. We have accepted Ranke's dictum as binding, whatever else we do: we must elicit, at least, "how things actually were."

"*What is truth?*" said jesting Pilate, and would not say for an answer" (Bacon, *Of Truth*). So Bacon drove home the point of a climactic incident in the Gospel narrative. Twentieth-century relativism offers a formidably reasoned justification of this ingenuous human sales resistance to truth. Historians have been able to live very well with relativism and have been merry relativists themselves, so long as interpretation alone was involved. Other students of society have let the past pretty strictly alone, so the integrity of the data was not affected. Then Toynbee, one of their own number, came forth with formulas and patterns which he claimed to deduce "empirically" from historical evidence. Toynbee's patterns seemed to change the data themselves, or to warp them out of recognition. The angry reaction of his fellow historians has seemed to focus on the patterns, which they have with few exceptions proclaimed absurd. But the very heat of their criticism has indicated that something more was troubling them.

This something more is very clearly displayed by Pieter Geyl, especially when we compare his reaction with two reactions from nonhistorians that Toynbee has evoked. One comes from the sociologist Pitirim Sorokin, who wrote and published his *Social and Cultural Dynamics* at the same time that Toynbee was bringing out the first six volumes of *A Study of History*. Sorokin, who wrote one of the earliest reviews of Toynbee's work, acclaimed him as a man of genius who had gone totally wrong because he had not used the ideational-idealistic-sensate formula of *Social and Cultural Dynamics*. More recently the genial humanist Edward Fiess has decided to treat Toynbee as a "poet." It is patent that none of this foolishness bothers Toynbee. But Geyl, his most persistent and savage critic, is a historian, and he really gets under Toynbee's skin:

The *Study of History* is no history . . . [Toynbee] may know more of history than I ever shall, but he is no historian. He is a prophet.

There has never been any love lost between prophets and historians . . . [Historians] would not care if he wrote as a prophet, but they feel that the best traditions of their profession are insulted when the prophet poses as a historian.

The possibility that Toynbee may have been so altering and distorting the data as to put Walter Scott into competition with Ranke concerns neither Sorokin nor Fiess. But Geyl is a historian, and he is very deeply concerned. What is more, he knows, despite what he says in the passage I have just cited, that Toynbee is very much a historian. Geyl really means, then, that Toynbee is an apostate. For a historian, what can such a charge signify but apostasy to the truth?

In his *Reconsiderations*, published early in 1961 and generously incorporated into the *Study* as Volume XII, Toynbee has purged himself of this charge. He has made an exhaustive analysis of every scrap of criticism of his work that he could discover; he speaks throughout with exceptional calm; and he has modified his views in a considerable number of instances. If he can master a justified indignation that such action on his part seems to have been required, I should be privileged to serve as his "oath-helper." It is, indeed, greatly to be deplored that for nearly a generation Toynbee's fellow historians have seemed to pitch their objections on the alleged absurdity of his patterns. In a terse three-paragraph "Comment" on the reviews by Geyl and Fiess, Toynbee expostulated: "I am trying to use our knowledge of history as a telescope-lens for taking a look at the universe as a whole. I do not see why one should not use historical knowledge in this way." Why not indeed? What those of his critics who were historians have really meant to say was that they were uncertain that Toynbee was dedicated to the truth. It was difficult to put the matter this bluntly, but it would have been better if someone had contrived to say it a long time ago. Toynbee, at least, would not still be puzzled, as he professes himself to be, by the "emotional" character of the reaction he has inspired in his fellow historians. He wonders whether it is because he has impugned the "element of uniqueness in history." This guess is wide of the mark, but perhaps it is within shouting distance. For there can be infinite relativity of interpretation of facts, but once there is relativity about "how things actually were," we historians are out of business. With this view, I think, Toynbee's *Reconsiderations* have shown him to be in full accord. Had we told him what was bothering us, I think he would have reassured us long ago.

I hope that Mrs. Gilb's questionnaire will be sent to Toynbee and to Geyl, as well as to historians in this country. Doubtless their backgrounds will be found to differ, and mine most markedly, perhaps, from each of theirs (though I warrant that a response from Sorokin would reveal the most spectacular deviation). The survey is not likely to reveal the spell of the past nor our dedication to the truth. But by these tokens, I think, you can tell us anywhere.

*University of Louisville*

SHERWOOD WARWICK

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In Mrs. Gilb's broad approach to the question, "Should We Learn More About Ourselves?" it appears that she makes no proposal as to where we may begin to obtain even meager information while long-term more enlightening studies are being undertaken.

Despite the limitation of surveys, a series of them undertaken for the purpose of learning the criteria used for the selection of materials could reveal rather convincingly some of the pressures and influences that affect us. Development of criteria comes from one's environment and training. Knowledge of the criteria used by a sufficiently large number of both historians as they engage in research, writing, and lecturing and of the editorial staff of publishers of histories as they accept or reject manuscripts will, therefore, give much information on interpreta-

tion. Perhaps we may be surprised to find how little or how great is the influence of employers and publishers on historians.

*Newberry College*

ESTELLE HIGHTOWER

#### EDITOR'S NOTE

The *Review* publishes articles in all fields of history. At the present time it is particularly interested in interpretive articles, based on new research or offering new views, in early and modern European, Asian, and Latin American areas, as well as in bibliographical essays summarizing recent work in major fields.

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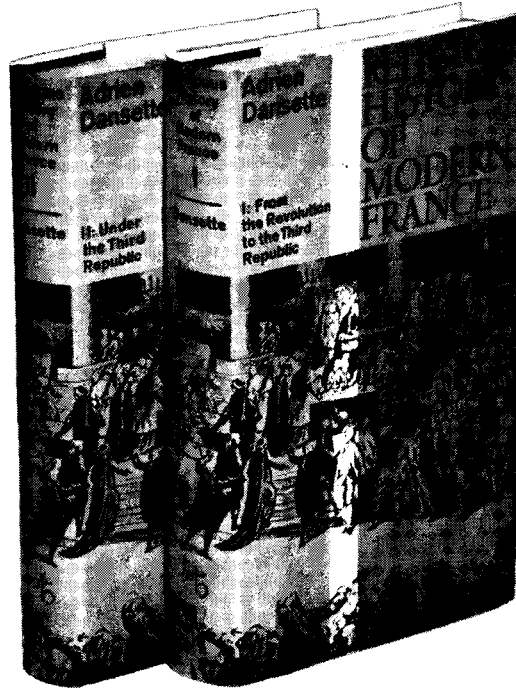
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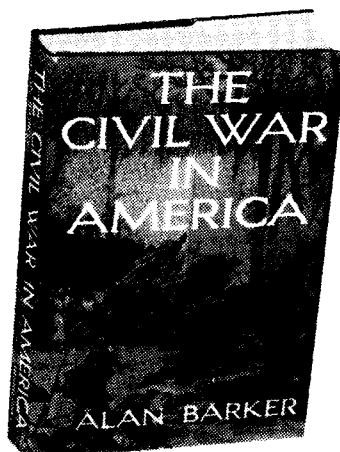
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